United Nations A/49/PV.46

General Assembly
Forty-ninth Session

Official Records

46th Meeting

Thursday, 27 October 1994, 10 a.m.
New York

President: Mr. Essy . . . . (Côte d'Ivoire)

The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

Agenda item 10

Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization (A/49/1)

The President (*interpretation from French*): I should like to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed today at 11 a.m.

It was so decided.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I therefore request those representatives wishing to participate in the debate to inscribe their names on the list as soon as possible.

Mr. Camacho Omiste (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Bolivian delegation is pleased to initiate our consideration of the report presented by the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, on the work of the Organization.

In the course of our debate the Ambassador of Indonesia will report on the joint views of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, of which Bolivia is honoured to be a member. Bolivia's position will be clearly reflected in his statement, and I would like to express special thanks to Ambassador Nugroho Wisnumurti for this. I shall therefore confine myself to a few matters of particular importance to the Government I represent.

Among the wide range of issues and the volume of papers relating to the agenda of this session, the Secretary-General's report gives an overview of the Organization's activities and allows us to appreciate, globally, the essential links between various tasks. It is thus quite clear that these actions are not isolated and makeshift but, on the contrary, reflect the implementation of a clearly designed strategy.

The confidence placed by the international community in the Secretary-General on his election has been fully justified, and I extend to him my delegation's congratulations on that.

We are particularly pleased that the Secretary-General's report pays due importance to development issues. Preventive diplomacy and the settlement of disputes will have solid bases to the extent that mankind is in a position to implement policies to bring about effective cooperation permitting us to address collectively the full exercise of human rights and the problems of poverty and unemployment. The Agenda for Development should reflect these views, which are shared by the majority of States represented here.

Bolivia is carrying out a number of new projects on such matters as sustainable development, regional integration, liberalization of trade and investment, protection of the environment, advancement of indigenous peoples, participation of the public, the fight against drug trafficking and other equally important issues.

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, Room C-178. Corrections will be issued after the end of the session in a consolidated corrigendum. When the result of a recorded and/or roll-call vote is followed by an asterisk, see annex to the record.

However, national endeavours have often not met with international understanding to the extent that we would have expected. Those involved in bilateral and multilateral cooperation, especially financial organizations, should take into account in their operational policies elements of national projects that have a bearing on the collective interest of nations. It is therefore paradoxical that, for example, the United Nations Development Programme has experienced a 15 per cent reduction in its basic resources and that the United Nations Children's Fund faces a huge shortfall in contributions, as is mentioned in the Secretary-General's report.

The Bolivian Government and people are seriously and firmly committed to international efforts to combat illicit drugs. In his statement in the general debate, Foreign Minister Antonio Aranībar Quiroga called for a broad understanding of the issues, which would allow for a proper appreciation of the traditional medicinal and cultural uses of the coca leaf, clearly distinguished from cocaine, the demand for which in developed countries creates countless problems.

Similarly, at the beginning of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People we will submit to the relevant Commission the report of the meeting that took place in the middle of this year in Cochabamba between Latin American Government officials and representatives of the indigenous peoples of our continent, so that the relevant plan of action will become operational and will meet the needs and demands of those intended to benefit from it.

Regarding the struggle for human rights, Bolivia congratulates the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Ambassador José Ayala Lasso, on his work. My country has made significant contributions through its own process of democratic consolidation. Similarly, together with other States we are contributing police personnel for monitoring and to provide training in the Republics of Mozambique and Haiti.

We should also mention in this connection that Bolivia is one of the few States today in which a former dictator, accused of grave violations of constitutional order and of human rights, has been put on trial, with all legal guarantees at every level of the process. His sentence will be served in Bolivia, thanks to proper implementation of the extradition treaty by the administrative bodies of our sister republic of Brazil and thanks to the proper functioning of the international system of judicial cooperation.

In our commitment to the principles of justice, we in Bolivia would like to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations by reiterating in deeds and not merely in words our commitment to international law. As my country's Foreign Minister has stated, we are confident that in the third millennium the law will cease to be an instrument used by the powerful to support injustices and will become the sole effective means for settling disputes and rectifying, whenever necessary, the excesses and errors of previous generations, to ensure that effective international justice prevails.

With respect to reform of the Charter and the functioning of the Organization's main organs, my Government believes that democracy must also become a clear expression of international relations. The participation of large and small States in solutions of issues that are binding on all should be fair, representative and not, as is usually the case, merely rhetorical.

In particular, we share the view expressed by the Secretary-General at the end of his report that the United Nations

> "is the repository of hope for humanity and the future. That hope deserves our deepest continuing commitment." (*A/49/1, para. 797*)

Mr. Wisnumurti (Indonesia): It is indeed an honour and privilege for me to speak on behalf of the non-aligned countries with regard to the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization.

I should like to take this opportunity to express our sincere appreciation to the Secretary-General for his comprehensive and insightful report. We trust that it will greatly facilitate our deliberations on improving and enhancing the functioning of the United Nations.

Among the basic purposes in founding the United Nations almost 50 years ago were those of saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war, of reaffirming faith in human rights and the dignity of mankind, of establishing an environment for respect of international law, and of promoting social progress and better standards of living in larger freedom for all. Thus, in his third annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization, contained in document A/49/1, the Secretary-General has rightly focused his attention on the economic and social questions that have for so long been sidelined. These have become all the more important today precisely because it has become increasingly recognized that conflicts have economic and social origins. We therefore firmly believe that the emerging consensus on human-centred development should go a long way towards strengthening the ability of the United Nations to realize its vision of development.

We, the non-aligned countries, can fully agree that, as the United Nations completes the first half-century of its work and stands poised to meet the challenges of the future, its primary mission will be to fulfil a renewed vision and commitment to development as the long-term solution to conflicts which endanger international peace and security and thereby be better positioned to address their root causes. It is therefore a matter of grave concern that, as indicated in the report, while the United Nations is called upon to shoulder ever-expanding responsibilities, it is at the same time being shackled by a deepening financial problem. As the report notes poignantly:

> "the unpredictability and irregularity of contributions from Member States make it extremely difficult to manage the Organization effectively." (*A/49/1, para. 103*)

If this perennial question is not quickly resolved, the consequences could be disastrous to the aspirations of the international community to peace and development. Therefore, the contributions of Members should be paid on time and in full in order to alleviate this difficulty. As we approach the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization, the question of financing should be given top priority so that the United Nations can be put on a more financially secure footing.

The non-aligned countries are fully committed to making the United Nations the central instrument for a new and revitalized international order. Steps must therefore be taken to ensure its fidelity to the dynamics of democracy in its functioning — namely, the fullest participation, consultation and engagement of all its Members in the work of the Organization.

The non-aligned countries hold that balance is essential in the relationship between the General Assembly and other principal organs, including the Security Council, in conformity with their respective mandates as enshrined in the Charter. The wide-ranging and comprehensive role of the General Assembly in world affairs alluded to in the report is fully consistent with the principle of sovereign equality and the right of all States to participate in the Assembly's deliberations and decision-making on issues of global concern. The Movement is also committed to playing an active role in the ongoing consultations on improving the Assembly's working methods and the rationalization of its agenda in order to enhance its efficiency and effectiveness.

Because of under-representation, the Movement has evinced keen interest in the question of expanding Security Council membership, particularly in the light of profound changes on the international scene and also due to the universal character of the Organization. The issues of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council are of paramount importance for the non-aligned countries. Hence, the Movement deems it essential substantially to increase the proportion of members of the Security Council belonging to the Movement and other developing countries. Any predetermined selection excluding the non-aligned and other developing countries would be unacceptable to the Movement.

It is also essential to reaffirm that both the expansion and reform aspects of the Security Council, including its decision-making processes and procedures, should be examined as integral parts of a common package, taking into account the principles of sovereign equality of States, equitable geographic distribution and the need for transparency, accountability and democratization. In this context, we encourage the endeavours of the Working Group established by the Security Council, which we hope will also contribute to enhancing its working relationship with the General Assembly.

The non-aligned countries are concerned over the tendency of the Council to deal with certain issues that are inconsistent with the provisions of the Charter concerning its role, and thereby to encroach upon the prerogatives and jurisdiction of the General Assembly and its subsidiary bodies. It is self-evident that questions relating to human rights fall within the competence of the General Assembly through its Third Committee. Likewise, questions of humanitarian assistance should also be dealt with by the Assembly and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In this context, we are further concerned over certain aspects of the restructuring of the Secretariat of the United Nations that strengthen the tendency to such encroachment. In our view, therefore, the restructuring of the Secretariat of the United Nations should be reviewed by the General

Assembly and completed as early as possible, in accordance with the legislative mandate of the Assembly.

The non-aligned countries recall the first-ever summit meeting of the Security Council, held in January 1992, and welcome the fact that a second summit meeting will be held in January 1995. We look forward to the forthcoming meeting of the General Assembly at the Heads of State or Government level, in October 1995, to commemorate the historic occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations.

In view of the Organization's steadily expanding role in peace-keeping operations, the search for ways and means to ensure broader and more stable support for these activities has become imperative. While all aspects of the United Nations have faced financial constraints in recent years, none has been so severely affected as its peace-keeping missions. There can be no doubt that the current arrangements for financing these activities are inadequate and unreliable. They place the heaviest burden on the non-aligned countries that contribute troops, thus discouraging participation. Such constraints have also severely limited the capabilities of the United Nations to prevent and contain violence and resolve conflicts peacefully; they even threaten peace settlements that have been negotiated.

The non-aligned countries, therefore, consider it necessary to address the problems of reimbursing troop costs and compensating participating countries, especially the developing countries. They called for contributions to the cost of peace-keeping, in accordance with the existing special scale of assessments established by resolution 3101 (XXVIII), which duly takes into account the special responsibilities of the five permanent members of the Security Council and economic considerations. These arrangements should be institutionalized and must be in accordance with Article 17 (2) of the Charter.

The eleventh ministerial conference of non-aligned countries, held in Cairo last summer, recognized the importance of peace-keeping operations for the maintenance of international peace and security and spelled out a number of guiding principles. These principles include, *inter alia*:

First, there should be strict adherence to the principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular to the principles of full respect for the sovereignty and sovereign equality of all States, territorial integrity and non-intervention in internal affairs. Second, peace-keeping operations should be of a non-intrusive and non-interventionist nature. They should be mandated at the request of the Member States involved. Third, peace-keeping operations should be of an impartial nature. Fourth, there should be full transparency and appropriate consultations in the process leading to the establishment of a peace-keeping operation, particularly between the troop-contributing countries and the Security Council.Fifth, peace-keeping operations should be established with a clear mandate, time frame, clear objectives, rules of engagement, secured financing and adequate resources. Sixth, the resources for peace-keeping activities should not be allocated at the expense of resources for the development activities of the United Nations. And, seventh, equitable opportunities should be ensured to facilitate the widest possible participation of Member States, in particular the developing countries, in peace-keeping operations.

As the report rightly notes, fruitful cooperation has been established between the United Nations and various regional organizations, which have acted as partners in facilitating the peaceful resolution of conflicts. It is therefore heartening that within the framework of existing regional institutions, commensurate with their respective charters and mandates, interaction with global organizations and multilateral forums such as the United Nations has been strengthened. None the less, the resort to regionalism has not diminished the need for an effective global framework to strengthen international cooperation within the context of the Charter. It is clear that, in our interdependent world, regional efforts can only supplement, and cannot supplant, the United Nations in meeting its global responsibilities.

Consequently, what is called for is a thorough exploration of possible mechanisms and procedures that would strengthen the interaction between the United Nations and various regional organizations and arrangements in the political, security, economic, social and other fields of endeavour, consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

As to the regional approach to disarmament, the Movement is gratified to note that the goal of a denuclearized Africa is within reach. The success of the Latin American countries towards the full implementation of the Treaty of Tlatelolco will render the region nuclear free. Taken together, they will become integral parts of a nuclear-free world, which will make a significant contribution to non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament. In general, the non-aligned countries believe that global and regional approaches to disarmament complement each other and should be pursued simultaneously.

With regard to other disarmament issues identified in the report, it is pertinent to note that, despite the unanimously adopted General Assembly resolution 48/70 on a comprehensive test ban, negotiations in the Conference on Disarmament have encountered formidable difficulties. The real cause of the stalemate is adherence to untenable approaches to disarmament in the post-cold-war era. Obviously, if the expectations of the international community are to be fulfilled, the Conference on Disarmament will have to intensify its efforts, with a serious political commitment by all the nuclear-weapon States, in the concerted endeavours towards the agreed goal of a comprehensive test ban.

A treaty in this regard will be an effective instrument towards the non-proliferation and elimination of nuclear weapons. While recognizing its pivotal role in preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons, attention should also be focused on those areas where serious concerns have continued to be expressed. Questions have constantly been raised as to the commitment by the nuclear Powers to the fulfilment of their obligations. Many other issues, including, *inter alia*, unhindered access to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes and security assurances to non-nuclear States have remained unresolved. It is up to the 1995 review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to determine the longevity of that Treaty.

As is now increasingly recognized, durable peace and stability cannot be achieved in the absence of sustained economic growth and development. Yet, as pointed out by the Secretary-General, while there has been some progress towards peace and conflict management, there has been little concerted action towards development. The non-aligned countries therefore welcome the renewed emphasis accorded to development in the Secretary-General's report. It stresses the need to promote development in its multiple dimensions. In this regard, we would like to emphasize that sustained economic growth is central to development, bearing in mind the priorities of the developing countries.

In the context of bringing development to the forefront of the international agenda, we also welcome the focus of the Secretary-General's work on "An Agenda for Development" in order to maximize the capacity of the United Nations to facilitate and promote efforts to attain sustained economic growth and development. The Non-Aligned Movement sees the elaboration and adoption of the Agenda as an essential means for correcting the perennial imbalances and inequities in the world economy, which have persistently hampered the development efforts of the developing countries. To this end, "An Agenda for Development" should first of all specifically identify its fundamental objectives, which, the non-aligned countries believe, promote sustained economic growth and sustainable development, including the eradication of poverty, and seek the equitable functioning of the world economy. It should also strengthen the role of the United Nations in promoting economic growth and development.

The non-aligned countries, furthermore, strongly believe that the Agenda should, as was called for at the World Hearings on Development and the high-level segment of the Economic and Social Council earlier this year, be action-oriented and should present an overall integrated and comprehensive policy framework for advocating effective ways and means of promoting and strengthening cooperation for development. We also believe that the Agenda should avoid advancing new concepts which do not command general acceptability.

Equally important is that the Agenda should advance the equitable functioning of the world economy. To facilitate this, the Agenda should concentrate on the concrete aspects of interdependence that are considered mutually beneficial and which should help to secure a constructive dialogue and genuine partnership among all countries and other actors in the promotion of development cooperation between the developed and developing countries. This should be pursued in accordance with General Assembly resolution 48/165 on the renewal of the dialogue on strengthening economic cooperation for development through partnership. Moreover, the report of the Secretary-General on ways and means of advancing such a dialogue and partnership should further facilitate our endeavours to establish a sound and action-oriented Agenda for Development.

The deliberations on the forthcoming report on the agenda, like those at the recent Cairo Conference on Population and Development, will constitute a clear test of the commitment to a constructive dialogue based on mutual interests and benefits, genuine interdependence, shared responsibility and partnership, as set out in resolution 48/165. As a complement to the North-South dialogue, there is a dire need to intensify South-South cooperation for the promotion of development. In this regard, we regret to note that such activities were not highlighted in the report of the Secretary-General.

We are also rather disappointed that the issue of external indebtedness, which remains at crisis levels for many developing countries, has not merited comment in the report. The non-aligned countries continue to attach great importance to this debilitating constraint on their development. While aggregate debt indicators have indeed improved, there is still something basically lacking or missing in the present approaches. Therefore, there is a need for an innovative approach that would include, *inter alia*, a once-and-for-all arrangement for settling outstanding debt and the application of debt reduction to all categories of debt, including multilateral debt, so as to provide countries with a renewed chance to generate economic growth and to advance their development.

As to the question of improving the United Nations machinery for development, we agree that system-wide field-level cooperation and coordination are of major importance. At the same time, as pointed out in the report, no matter how good the coherence and coordination of the operational activities may become, the Organization cannot fulfil its mandate without adequate and stable resources. Thus, the non-aligned countries find it paradoxical that, while the international community is attaching greater importance than ever before to the close linkages between peace and development, the resources for the development activities of the United Nations system have actually been declining. At the same time, we note that the resources for peace-keeping operations continue to increase. Therefore, we consider it important to mobilize new and additional resources for development from all available funding sources and mechanisms, and we call on the international community to honour its commitments with respect to increasing financial support for development activities.

The various activities undertaken by the High Commissioner for Human Rights are adequately reflected in the Secretary-General's report. The non-aligned countries participated in shaping the mandate of the Office of the High Commissioner and, I am pleased to note, are generally satisfied with the manner in which that mandate has been exercised during the first year of operation. The dialogue in which the High Commissioner has engaged various Governments is consistent with the position of the Non-Aligned Movement that cooperation, and not confrontation, should guide our actions in this field.

The Secretary-General calls for strengthening the United Nations capacity for preventive action to avoid human-rights violations. In that context, however, the non-aligned countries would like to recall that the World Conference on Human Rights considered that the existence of widespread and extreme poverty inhibited the full and effective enjoyment of human rights and that its immediate alleviation and eventual elimination must remain a high priority for the international community. If preventive action were to be taken to redress poverty and underdevelopment, it would, we believe, lay a solid foundation for securing respect of the broader spectrum of human rights. Furthermore, the non-aligned countries wish to note that what is required, first and foremost, is to make optimal use of existing human rights bodies by reviewing their procedures with a view to avoiding unnecessary overlap of activities.

Finally, much of the credit for sustaining the efforts towards finding peaceful and just solutions to the various conflict situations around the globe, as well as for imbuing economic development with renewed focus and importance, should go to the United Nations, the Secretary-General and his staff. As a result of their work, we are now witnessing a renewal of faith in the role of the United Nations as the unique multilateral framework for peace and development as well as for harmonizing the actions of nations as provided for in the Charter. It is now for us to fully utilize the inherent potentials of our Organization in collectively advancing our shared aspirations for just peace, common security and equitable prosperity for all.

Mrs. Hassan (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At the outset, the Egyptian delegation wishes to extend appreciation to the Secretary-General on his comprehensive report on the work of the Organization (A/49/1). The report describes the activities of the United Nations in various fields over the past 12 months and details the major developments that have accompanied those activities.

In our view, the annual consideration of the Secretary-General's report, which we consider to be a healthy tradition, is not confined to reviewing the Organization's activities, evaluating its achievements and identifying its failures, but is also an occasion wherein we may consider the future direction and prospects of its work.

Today's debate is of particular importance in view of the vital role played by the United Nations in a changing world situation that, more than ever before, calls for the intensification of multilateral action to meet the great challenges before us and to realize the hopes and expectations of Member States.

The Permanent Representative of Indonesia spoke a few minutes ago of many of the report's important points, and we associate ourselves with what he said on behalf of the non-aligned countries. I shall confine myself in this statement to certain other questions of particular importance.

In reviewing the sources of conflict in the world, the report makes clear the organic link between international peace and security on the one hand and development on the other. It identifies three foundations of peace: development first and foremost, humanitarian action and human rights. The sources of conflict in the world are no longer purely military. The roots of conflict are to be found also in the severe economic and social problems which beset the majority of the world's peoples. The reality of this epoch wherein international relations are evolving, and taking shape against the backdrop of conflicting and overlapping interests and explosive crises created by ethnic differences and fragmented nationalisms, underscores the multidimensional nature of the problems and challenges facing our world, and reflects the interrelationship between the various elements of the concept of security. Non-military threats to security, particularly poverty, famine, unemployment and natural disasters, are all fundamental causes of destabilization and threats to peace.

The Organization has been criticized recently for allegedly devoting the larger part of its efforts to peace-keeping at the expense of economic and social questions. The report, in its Introduction, admits this:

> "while we have seen some progress towards peace and conflict management, we have seen little concerted action towards development." (*A/49/1, para. 4*)

Therefore, a renewed and strengthened United Nations commitment to work in the economic and social fields, as the Secretary-General states in his report, is not only an end in itself but is also the means of attending to the sources of conflicts.

In this connection, the Secretary-General proposes a new definition of the concept of development which involves five interlinked dimensions of development, namely, peace, the economy, the environment, society and democracy. We believe that these five dimensions succinctly sum up the major challenges of our time. They are interlinked and they mutually reinforce each other. In this respect, the Secretary-General correctly states that vigorous multilateral action is required to incorporate and integrate those five dimensions and that such action calls for an integrated approach by the United Nations and political commitment on the part of its Member States.

We were gratified to see the interest in according a high priority to the "Agenda for Development" in international concerns. We look forward to participating in its consideration in the hope that an agreed and feasible framework may be developed for facing up to the challenges which confront us and meeting all our expectations. It is high time that the Organization's energy was turned to development and to give new momentum and strength to the United Nations work towards establishing more just and more equitable international relations. The clear link between peace and development cannot be overemphasized and it forms the main theme of "An Agenda for Development".

In our view, the Secretary-General's call for an integrated approach to human-rights questions, which have become one of the Organization's new priorities, is a natural extension of the recognition by the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights of the right to development. It is of great importance that our joint efforts be directed to the full implementation of this fundamental right in the interest of the peoples of the third world.

We cannot deny that the past year was marked by a great increase in the Organization's activities in the field of peace-keeping and peacemaking. The Organization's role in preventive diplomacy and post-conflict peace-building has also grown. The increase in resorting to the United Nations and its presence in the field has been accompanied by a need to consider institutional and organizational measures that might be taken to improve the Organization's ability to conceive, plan and manage peace-keeping operations. We deem it necessary that the lessons learned from experience in the field be evaluated in all their various aspects periodically.

Another important consideration with regard to peace-keeping operations is that States that participate in such operations do so as part of their commitments under the Charter and with a view to mitigating human suffering. In so doing, those States have to bear the financial burden as troop contributors to United Nations peace-keeping operations. Great hardship is imposed on those States when the expenditures they have incurred are not quickly and fully reimbursed. This situation must be decisively and swiftly remedied if the principal of the universality of participation in peace-keeping operations is to be maintained.

In addition, the increasing tendency to finance the support activities of peace-keeping operations from the regular United Nations budget is a procedure that needs to be reviewed rather than institutionalized, especially in view of the fact that the regular budget has been in a zero growth situation since 1992. The Egyptian delegation has often called for the financing of peace-keeping support activities from the budgets for such operations or from the peace-keeping support account. Action must be taken in this matter so that the scarce and diminishing resources of the regular budget may be devoted to financing priority activities, in particular those linked with the economic development of developing countries and the economic recovery of Africa.

My delegation shares the concern repeatedly expressed by the Secretary-General in his annual report at the worsening financial crisis of the Organization as a result of the large arrears of Member States in paying assessed contributions. The report makes clear that the failure of Member States to pay assessed contributions in full and on time places the Organization in a difficult financial situation, deprives it of a sound financial base and makes effective management extremely difficult. Continued failure will have negative consequences for the international community's expectations with regard to peace and development.

The Secretary-General has put forward a number of proposals to encourage States to meet their legal commitments fully. We share his opinion that there is a pressing need to arrive at a swift solution to this crisis.

I should now like to refer briefly to the various organs of the United Nations. The Secretariat is an international civil service body. Like any bureaucracy, it must exercise self-criticism and evaluate the manner in which it intends to face the challenges of the future. In this regard, we welcome the steps taken by the Secretary-General to achieve efficiency, minimize waste, increase accountability and eliminate corruption.

We acknowledge the need to develop administrative and leadership qualities within the Secretariat and, in this connection, we welcome the initiation of a comprehensive programme of management training aimed at modernizing and increasing the efficiency of the Organization.

I should like to underscore the importance of General Assembly resolution 48/264 regarding the revitalization of the work of the General Assembly as the principal universal body with a mandate to adopt resolutions concerning the management of the Organization and the establishment of its priorities. It also stressed the importance of a balanced relationship between the General Assembly and the various organs of the United Nations, in particular the Security Council, in consonance with the General Assembly's mandate under the Charter.

And here, I cannot fail to touch on a very important subject, namely, reform of the Security Council. The Council's clear lack of representative character has begun to affect its legitimacy, and it is in no one's interest to permit the gradual erosion of the Security Council's credibility.

Therefore, in this regard, my delegation believes that in order to achieve the democratization of the Security Council in the context of the overall reform of the United Nations aimed at greater democracy and transparency in all the organs of the Organization, the serious and active work of the Working Group on the increase in the Council's membership and the reform of its rules of procedure, particularly its decision-making methods, must continue. We hope that a decision in this regard will be reached before the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Organization.

Mr. Melamed (Israel): I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election to preside over the General Assembly. I am confident that your vast diplomatic experience will be invaluable in guiding the Assembly.

I also wish to extend my congratulations to the former President, Mr. Samuel Insanally, and to compliment him on his skilful direction of the Assembly's affairs.

I would like to express Israel's appreciation to the Secretary-General for his report on the work of the Organization. We were pleased to note the emphasis given to coordinating a comprehensive strategy to respond to today's challenges. Such an integrated approach is rendered necessary by the existing interrelationship between peace, security and development.

The resurgence of ethnic, religious, tribal and national conflicts has caused enormous carnage and untold human suffering. We would like to see more attention and resources devoted to early identification of the warning signs of trouble in order to prevent smouldering conflicts from igniting into full-blown confrontations. It is our belief that in the long run such a course of action would prove more effective and efficient than emergency operations conducted after the outbreak of hostilities. Consequently, Israel fully supports the Secretary-General's statement that

> "The United Nations must renew and strengthen its commitment to work in the economic and social fields as an end in itself and as the means of attending to the sources of conflicts." *(A/49/1, para. 4)*

Inasmuch as the major threats to peace and security are not limited by geographic or political borders, we believe that particular importance should be placed on regional and interregional cooperation in economic planning and development. In the broader view, this will include the need to give special attention to closing the existing gap between developed and developing countries. The United Nations can promote coordinated activity to achieve political stability and democracy, to encourage investment in human resources and to identify capital resources for development.

Mr. Vilchez Asher (Nicaragua), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Improved economic and social conditions are the keys to peace and stability. Indeed, this understanding is one of the principles underlying the current peace process in the Middle East. Only through economic growth and social development will lasting peace prevail.

We were pleased to see that the Secretary-General's report took note of the important developments which are creating a new reality in the Middle East. We hope to see this recognition of the dramatic changes in the region also reflected in the upcoming work of the General Assembly.

The United Nations and its agencies and bodies can make a substantial contribution in the economic and social spheres. Israel believes that there is an important role for United Nations agencies, such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) in providing economic and social support in Gaza and the West Bank. We urge the United Nations to allocate more funds towards this end. We hope that the appointment of the United Nations Special Coordinator will help facilitate the attainment of this goal.

I wish also to refer to the work of the Organization regarding the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council. The Government of Israel is following up on the deliberations of the Open-ended Working Group and is considering the different alternatives with a view to finding the right balance between efficiency in dealing with the new and expanding tasks of the Security Council and representation which would better reflect world realities and the present membership of the Organization.

Israel believes that any attempt by the United Nations to address the question of equitable representation on the Security Council must take into account the unacceptable situation in which States are reduced to the status of "permanent non-members", never eligible to serve on the Security Council, or on most other United Nations bodies, for that matter. Because all Member States share the fate of the world, all of them must also be guaranteed the equal right to participate in the electoral process and the decision-making of the United Nations.

Israel has been refused membership in a geographic group at the United Nations and is thus barred from membership in the Security Council, as well as in all other United Nations bodies in which elections are based on regional quotas of representation. Israel is thus prevented from exercising its full rights and from assuming its full duties and responsibilities as a State Member of the United Nations. This represents a grave breach of the principle of universality and of the principle of the equality of rights of all United Nations Member States. It also constitutes a blot on the moral authority and prestige of the United Nations.

In our view, the time has come to put an end to this situation. In this way, the just principles enshrined in the Charter will be respected, and all States will be able to fully assume their rights and duties as Members of the United Nations.

Mrs. Fréchette (Canada) *(interpretation from French):* I should like to associate my delegation with those others that have thanked the Secretary-General for his report and have congratulated him on its comprehensive and thoughtful coverage of the work of the Organization. The United Nations continues to face unprecedented global challenges, and the Secretary-General is to be complimented for the initiatives he has taken to help the Organization address those challenges more effectively.

My delegation is particularly pleased that the Secretary-General is attempting to implement a comprehensive, coordinated strategy for the United Nations. Lip service has long been paid to the view that the various organs of the United Nations complement and assist one another, but that view has rarely been actively pursued. Not only does the Secretary-General entitle the first substantive chapter of his report "Coordinating a comprehensive strategy", but a close reading of the entire report makes it clear that mutual support — not only within the Secretariat but throughout the system — is his objective. My delegation applauds this approach and will assist in putting it into effect whenever and wherever possible.

I have characterized the report as comprehensive, and it is. But this desire to cover all the facets of United Nations activities may have militated against a more rigorous setting of priorities for the Organization. An emphasis on coordination must have as its inevitable corollary a requirement for rationalization, the elimination of duplication and a commitment to ongoing reform. Progress made in the revitalization of the Organization is indeed reflected in various parts of the report, but the call to action that the Secretary-General quite rightly issues in his conclusion might usefully have been accompanied by a more detailed listing of priorities.

We welcome the increased attention to development issues that is reflected in the report, and we strongly endorse the Secretary-General's contention that conflict often has economic and social origins. That is why we look forward with anticipation to his further report on his proposed Agenda for Development and to the renewed vision that it promises.

We note that the series of world conferences held this year or scheduled for next year — the Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States, the International Conference on Population and Development, the World Summit for Social Development, the Fourth World Conference on Women and the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements — will provide many of the ingredients for that vision. Canada has played, and will continue to play, an active role both in these conferences and in the further discussions on development.

In this connection, my delegation has paid close attention to the Secretary-General's description of the activities of the various organs of the United Nations involved across the spectrum of development activity. We have noted in particular the emphasis on the provision of emergency relief and the effect of increased demands in this area on the operations and resources of United Nations agencies. The Secretary-General quite rightly calls for more dynamic approaches to ensure that there is a seamless and mutually supporting transition from emergency relief to sustainable development.

(spoke in English)

Another priority area for my delegation is human rights, and we are pleased with the attention that this issue receives in the report. Canada fully shares the Secretary-General's belief that the institutional capacity of the United Nations to take preventive action to reduce human rights violations must be strengthened. In this connection, we encourage the Centre for Human Rights and the Department of Peace-Keeping Operations to continue their discussions. These are the kinds of institution-wide, mutually supportive actions which the Secretary-General is attempting to foster and to which I referred approvingly a few moments ago.

My delegation has also taken note of the Secretary-General's reference to the need to bridge the gap between available resources and the mandated work of the Centre for Human Rights.

In its treatment of the management and budgetary challenges facing the United Nations, the report goes some way towards addressing the need for priorities, rationalization and streamlining to which I referred earlier. We applaud the planned reorganization of the Department of Administration and Management and the anticipated recommendation to eliminate the Trusteeship Council.

Although it is not reflected in the report, we also welcome the Secretary-General's forthright statement of 12 October to the General Assembly, in which he addressed the issue of reforming the scale of assessments. The continuing parlous state of the finances of the United Nations is clearly an issue that we must tackle seriously, and we believe that an open-ended working group of the Assembly should be set up to address it without delay.

At the same time, my delegation would have liked to see more attention paid in the report to how questions of duplication, wasted resources and inefficiency will be handled. Member States carry an important responsibility in this connection, and it would have been useful if the Secretary-General had indicated how we could assist in this effort. In his statement to the General Assembly during the general debate, Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs stated emphatically that the elimination of duplication of effort had to be a priority for the Organization. My delegation will continue to stress this requirement.

There is much in the chapter entitled "Expanding preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution" to welcome. We are pleased to see that a good start has been made in the restructuring of the Department of Peace-keeping Operations, including the establishment of a stand-by arrangements management unit, expansion of the resources made available to the training unit, and the establishment of the Situation Centre.

The stand-by arrangements project is proving to be particularly useful for both the United Nations and Member States in providing a base from which to assess troop requirements. There is, however, much work that remains to be done, and we look forward to the continuation of this valuable conceptual and practical exercise. In this connection, I should like also to draw attention to a study that Canada will conduct. Announced by our Foreign Minister in the General Assembly's general debate, this will be a study of options for strengthening the rapid-response capability of the United Nations.

Finally, my delegation is pleased that the Secretary-General has paid attention to the important role of preventive diplomacy. He rightly points to the need for timely information on developing crises and to the requirement for various parts of the Secretariat to work together in this effort. While we welcome the first steps that have been taken in this direction — for instance, the systematic-needs analysis carried out by the Department of Political Affairs — we believe that more can and should be done in the area of information gathering and analysis.

In sum, the Secretary-General has given us a useful description of the activities of the Organization and the challenges that it faces — in particular, the need to adapt our approaches to development so as to manage better the situation we face. My delegation is committed to working with the Secretary-General and other Member States in the continuing process of the renewal of the United Nations that he has launched.

Mr. Razali (Malaysia): I should like to join those representatives who have already expressed appreciation to the Secretary-General for the document entitled "Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization" (A/49/1). In compliance with Article 98 of the Charter, the report provides an overview, as well as covering the spectrum of activities undertaken by the United Nations during 1993.

This year's report includes five chapters: "Introduction", "Coordinating a comprehensive strategy", "The foundations of peace: development, humanitarian action and human rights", "Expanding preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution" and "Conclusion: a continuing commitment". Except in the case of chapter III, which in last year's report was entitled "Developing the global community", the chapter titles have remained virtually the same. The continuity in the thematic thrust is also evident.

In chapter I, "Introduction", the Secretary-General states:

> "... I submit the present annual report as a document for reflection at this critical time in the history of the world Organization. The structure of the report has been designed to enable the entities comprising the Organization and the Governments and peoples it serves to assess intellectually, morally and institutionally the role of the United Nations in the world-wide collaborative effort towards enduring human progress." *(A/49/1, para. 13)*

My delegation takes the Secretary-General at his word and wishes to share its views on the important issues raised in this report.

Overall, the report is rich with "the immensity of detail" (para. 788) of the activities of the Organization. At the same time, the report is not necessarily a complete critique of the successes and failures of this Organization. Such a critique would have contributed towards a qualitative assessment of the effectiveness of this unique intergovernmental body.

Chapter I, entitled "Introduction" — particularly in paragraphs 1 to 7 — succinctly captures the fundamental challenges facing the international community: the promotion of peace, justice, human rights and development — all original aims reflected in the Charter.

As for chapter II, entitled "Coordinating a comprehensive strategy", the work of the principal organs, including the General Assembly, the Security Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat, has been highlighted.

This chapter recalls efforts made by the Secretariat to improve its delivery of administrative and support services to the Organization. While these noteworthy efforts should be welcomed and supported, we wonder how the Secretariat can function effectively in the context of a seemingly endless restructuring exercise. For instance, with the changes introduced in the coordination of the Secretariat structure concerned with issues of development, this structure remains in a constant state of flux. These problems need to be addressed in a transparent manner.

It is timely also at this juncture to acknowledge that the Secretariat possesses, along with a few "passengers", a number of dedicated and highly qualified personnel, with creative and pragmatic ideas. Yet these productive resources do not seem to have been fully exploited — stress being laid on management weaknesses. In this regard, the views and input of the Member States could be sought in addressing these weaknesses.

In the same chapter, reference has been made to ensuring an "adequate financial base". My delegation fully supports the observation in the report that

> "... the continued failure of some Member States to fulfil their legal obligation to pay assessed contributions in full and on time places the Organization in a difficult financial situation." *(A/49/1, para. 101)*

Malaysia has consistently paid its assessed contributions on time, be it for the regular budget or for the peace-keeping budget. As of September 1994, Malaysia was one of 13 countries that had paid in full the assessed contributions for both regular and peace-keeping budgets. Payment on time and in full is critical in enabling the United Nations to function effectively and efficiently.

While we recognize the economic difficulties faced by some Member States in trying to reduce their arrears, we cannot condone the failure of those who do not pay because they use payment as a conditionality in making demands on the United Nations. In accordance with the Principle enunciated in Article 2, paragraph 2, of the Charter, all Members are required to pay their assessment in full and on time.

Chapter III, focusing on "The foundations of peace: development, humanitarian action and human rights", covers the gamut of socio-economic issues, which form the staple of the work of the Second and Third Committees. The absence of consensus on the interlinkages between the issues addressed in this chapter must be recognized.

As for humanitarian action, the United Nations has played a sterling role, notwithstanding constraints of resources. In this regard, the important role of the non-governmental organizations must be acknowledged as well. Finally, we do agree with the observation made in the report concerning the need

> "to ensure that the transition from emergency relief to sustainable development occurs in a seamless and mutually supporting fashion." *(A/49/1, para. 316)*

In chapter IV, entitled "Expanding preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution" the focus is on the conceptual underpinning and the details of the various types of peace-keeping operations. Indeed, this is the longest chapter in the report, indicating the importance attached to these issues. The much-publicized United Nations involvement in peace-keeping remains at a critical crossroads. Faced with a resource crunch and the mixed results of a number of these operations, there is an ongoing debate over the future of the United Nations and its role in peace-keeping.

Despite the fact that it is a small developing country, Malaysia remains actively involved in the United Nations peacekeeping activities; we are participating in 7 of the 16 operations, with more than 2,800 men, making us the seventh largest troop-contributing country.

Admittedly, United Nations peace-keeping operations have consumed substantial financial and other resources. We recognize that, in certain situations, the collective involvement of the international community represented by the United Nations is necessary. At the same time, we cannot ignore peace-keeping operations whose mandates are questionable and which undermine the principles of sovereignty.

My Government has also been unequivocal in its demand for consultation between troop-contributing countries and the Security Council. The current practice, which merely involves ad hoc meetings chaired by a member of the Secretariat, is inadequate. Article 44 of the Charter, in fact, states that the Member should be invited:

> "...if the Member so desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that Member's armed forces."

In chapter V, entitled "Conclusion: a continuing commitment", the Secretary-General deduces:

> "From the immensity of detail in these pages has emerged a clear direction for our future work." *(A/49/1, para. 788)*

My delegation is not convinced of this conclusion.

While we acknowledge the increasing expectations of the international community *vis-à-vis* the United Nations, there is a clear need to build a consensus on the future role and direction of the United Nations. The demands have increased, but without adequate resources.

At the same time, we note the seeming contradictions between paragraph 788 and 793 of the report. The former refers to "the peoples of the world", while the latter makes the observation "that full and responsible participation in the United Nations is not a top priority on the agendas of most Member States". If the intention in these paragraphs is to draw a distinction between the concept of peoples of the world and the principles of Member States, my delegation, while respecting the purpose of the Secretary-General behind this, does not believe that this would be a productive exercise at this stage of inter-State relations.

The primary and priority task ahead is to ensure that the principles of the Charter shall be applied consistently, not selectively, for if the perception should be the latter, trust would wane and with it the moral authority which is the greatest and the unique quality of this Organization. The effectiveness of the United Nations in preventing and settling conflicts and preserving international peace is dependent on the credibility of its decisions and the degree of its consistency in the application of the principles of the Charter.

In the spirit of the Charter and in the interests of Member States, there has to be a harmonization in the relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council on the question of peace and security. We must not have a position where the views of the general membership of the United Nations are ignored and where the Council chooses to apply principles only when it suits the interests and convenience of certain prominent Members.

It is equally important that certain principal organs of the United Nations should not be perceived to be pre-eminent at the expense of other Charter bodies. There have also been cases in which certain Secretariat structures have been subsumed, which we in the South regret. After all, the success of any organization lies in its ability to work in concert with the sum total of its parts.

Mr. Mabilangan (Philippines): My delegation welcomes the Secretary-General's comprehensive and substantive report on the work of the Organization, which testifies to a large extent to the effect of the dramatic global changes on the priorities and activities of the United Nations.

Although we note that a good portion of the report is devoted to United Nations activities in the field of preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution, we are encouraged by the Secretary-General's assurance that he has

> "sought to correct the common misperception of the United Nations as an organization dedicated primarily to peace-keeping." *(A/49/l, para. l)*

This clearly supports the notion that the United Nations has a pivotal role in promoting not only peace and security but also development. The Secretary-General further states that

> "while we have seen some progress towards peace and conflict management, we have seen little concerted action towards development" *(A/49/l, para. 4)*

and that

> "it is the task of the world community to...bring to fulfilment the idea of development as the long-term solution to the root causes of conflict." *(A/49/l, para. 4)*

We therefore hope the forty-ninth session will be guided by these thoughts of the Secretary-General. Development is a global issue of critical dimensions and significant implications. The United Nations should strive to prevent attempts to marginalize developing countries or to deviate their priorities from the pursuit of economic growth and development and the enhancement of the welfare and prosperity of their people.

The Secretary-General reports on the increased responsibilities for most organs of the United Nations. We believe these responsibilities should be consistent with the United Nations role as a universal organization built upon an intergovernmental framework and democratic principles. It is also necessary to ensure an appropriate balance of United Nations activities, particularly by its principal organs, in the fields of development, peace and security — a balance which reflects both the interests and concerns of the general membership, and is consistent with the functions and responsibilities of the principal organs of the United Nations as mandated by the United Nations Charter.

Paragraph 20 of the report refers to the General Assembly's adoption of a set of guidelines on the rationalization of its agenda, as set forth in resolution 48/264, which is no doubt a significant step towards a more effective consideration of issues. However, rationalization is only one and not necessarily the most important aspect of resolution 48/264. In this connection, the resolution, among others, not only reaffirms the functions and powers given to the General Assembly by the Charter but also provides the mandate for the Assembly to create new machinery when necessary to consider any question within the scope of the provisions of the Charter.

We therefore hope that the forty-ninth session will lead to the operationalization of the key provisions of resolution 48/264, and thus bring us closer to a revitalized General Assembly characterized by its increased interaction with the other principal organs of the United Nations, particularly the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council.

The Secretary-General also accurately states that the vastly enhanced activities of the Security Council have generated "justifiable interest in its work" *(A/49/1, para. 30)* and, I might add, interest in most aspects of its work. This has been clearly reflected in the active participation of Member States in the Open-ended Working Group on the question of the increase in the membership of the Council. The views of my delegation on this issue have been expressed on previous occasions and I will not dwell on them now, other than to stress that it is necessary that future negotiations on all issues be conducted with complete transparency in whatever negotiating mechanism or format is agreed upon by the Open-ended Working Group. Since issues involved are very important, each Member State should have the opportunity to participate fully in the decision-making process.

My delegation appreciates the efforts of the Secretary-General in improving the Secretariat's delivery of administrative and support services to the Organization. We are encouraged by his efforts to streamline the structure as well as by his assurances that the question of equitable representation of developed and developing countries at all levels, especially at senior levels, is continually borne in mind in the selection of staff.

Nevertheless, given the importance of these efforts, particularly in terms of their impact on existing programmes and resources, and on the interests of Member States, we believe that the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly should examine all relevant aspects of the current restructuring of the Secretariat.

Ensuring an adequate financial base for the United Nations and the United Nations financial difficulties are important issues which must be addressed. In this regard, I believe that the issues raised by the Secretary-General in his report deserve detailed and expert examination by Member States. My delegation hopes to participate actively in their examination.

On the issue of development, to which I alluded earlier, my delegation shares the Secretary-General's concern for the need to strengthen links between emergency assistance, rehabilitation and long-term development, given the interrelationship of these activities in certain cases. However, we would be concerned if such links were to be used as a basis for eventually reorienting the development process as we understand it, particularly with regard to the nature and aims of multilateral cooperation for development as well as the role and priorities of the United Nations in promoting such cooperation. These have been amply spelled out in the various development commitments already adopted, which provide the overall framework for international cooperation for development.

It would be more important for this session to focus on time-bound action-oriented measures, possibly in the context of an agenda for development, to ensure the effective implementation of development commitments. This would invigorate the prospects for sustained growth and development, thereby leading to greater international peace and security. An agenda should also strengthen the role of the United Nations in international cooperation for development.

We note the Secretary-General's observations in Part IV, that his report on "An Agenda for Peace" has led to a number of activities and reforms within the United Nations system. However, we had also been looking forward to his summary of developments on the implementation of certain aspects of General Assembly resolution 47/120 B on "An Agenda for Peace", the General Assembly's response to that report. We would have appreciated an exposition of his thoughts and views on this resolution, especially those related to peace-keeping operations.

The Philippines recognizes the collective nature and the important contribution of United Nations peace-keeping operations to the maintenance of international peace and security. However, they should not be a substitute for the pacific settlement of disputes through political means. In this regard we have advocated for some time the need for agreed guiding principles for United Nations peace-keeping operations, particularly for interventions in intra-State conflicts. This would preclude the danger of selective intervention based on national rather than collective interests, as well as the lack of consistency in actions taken. An agreed set of principles for peace-keeping operations would help to ensure consistency in their application and use, and eliminate the perception of a possible double standard in the making of Security Council decisions on peace-keeping operations. In other words, these principles would provide an agreed conceptual and political framework for the establishment and conduct of United Nations peace-keeping operations, firmly grounded on the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

Finally, paragraphs 424 and 426 of the report refer to the need for sustained political resolve and public support for United Nations peace-keeping operations. We agree with the Secretary-General on this need. However, what must be ensured is how to secure and sustain this resolve. We can think of no better way of doing so than by institutionalizing consultations between the Security Council, the troop-contributing countries, the general membership and the Secretariat. Naturally, these consultations should not prejudice the Security Council's decision-making authority on international peace and security matters.

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: My delegation is very pleased to see you, Sir, the representative of the fraternal country of Nicaragua, presiding over this segment of our work.

(spoke in English)

My delegation wishes to thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his report on the work of the Organization.

The annual consideration by the General Assembly of this important document, submitted by the Secretary-General pursuant to Article 98 of the Charter, provides a unique opportunity for Member States to have a comprehensive overview of the activities undertaken by the United Nations, as well as to engage in an informed discussion on the overall direction and pace of the Organization.

My delegation is grateful to the Secretary-General for presenting once again this year quite an extensive and detailed report. It reflects the variety and complexity of the tasks undertaken by the various departments of the Secretariat and by other component parts of the United Nations system in carrying out the purposes of the Organization.

We are particularly pleased to note that the Secretary-General has endeavoured to present a balanced vision of the overall role of the Organization, seeking to correct

> "... the common misperception of the United Nations as an organization dedicated primarily to peace-keeping". *(A/49/1, para. 1)*

My delegation has always held that conflicts have, more frequently than not, economic and social root causes, and therefore that the main foundations of international peace and security lie in the active promotion of disarmament, development and democratization of relations within and among nations.

It was precisely due to these considerations that, in studying the important document "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277) — which highlighted the importance of preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping, peacemaking and post-conflict peace-building — my delegation deemed it equally relevant to underscore the importance of preventive peace-building. Thus, at the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly, Brazil pointed out that "An Agenda for Peace" could not overlook the equally important "An Agenda for Development" (A/48/935) and that it was incumbent upon us to endow the United Nations with the necessary instruments and the prospective vision to make this universal forum the core of collective efforts for the improvement of relations among peoples and nations.

Consistent with these considerations, Brazil participated actively in the deliberations that led to the adoption of resolution 47/181, requesting the Secretary-General to prepare a comprehensive document outlining an agenda for development. We were also deeply engaged in the World Hearings on Development, promoted by the President of the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session last June, and as an input to the deliberations on the matter we presented a paper entitled "A Brazilian approach to an agenda for development: a contribution to the current debate at the United Nations.

At the current session of the General Assembly, Brazil once again has underscored the need for striking a balance between "An Agenda for Peace" and "An Agenda for Development", and stressed the importance of attributing to international efforts in the field of development the same priority given to current activities of peace-keeping. In this regard, the Brazilian Government is proposing the convening of a United Nations conference on development to be held, possibly in 1996, with the purpose of establishing a new development paradigm and setting up a conceptual framework for major international initiatives in the field of development.

It is my Government's considered view that the series of global conferences that started with the Rio Conference of 1992, and encompassing other crucial conferences in Barbados, Yokohama, Cairo, Copenhagen, Beijing and Istanbul, will be shaping a new and comprehensive vision of development as it emerges from the discussions on "An Agenda for Development", whose articulation and concerted implementation should ultimately be consolidated at the proposed United Nations conference on development.

We believe that due to its universal composition, democratic decision-making procedures and public visibility, the United Nations is the most appropriate body to help forge the necessary global consensus in this field. In this regard, important progress could be made at the current session and a crucial momentum could be gained in 1995, since the fiftieth anniversary year represents, as pointed out by the Secretary-General in his report,

> "an invaluable opportunity to forge a global consensus behind development, in all of its dimensions, as the most lasting foundation for international peace and security and as the greatest hope for all humanity." *(para. 12)*

Needless to say, my delegation stands ready to work actively with other delegations on this important question.

Turning to peace-keeping operations, my delegation is appreciative of the very useful information contained in the Secretary-General's report on the many operations currently under way. We once again pay tribute to all the selflessly dedicated and courageous personnel participating in these operations, many of them under extremely difficult and dangerous conditions.

The increasing complexity of these operations, as observed by the Secretary General, has imposed many new burdens and difficulties in their organization and implementation. Indeed, there is a noticeable fatigue on the part of Member States to commit new troops and equipment under uncertain conditions and situations. The Secretariat also finds itself overworked and understaffed. The Security Council, in turn, is becoming more reticent at launching new missions and has outlined in its presidential statement, contained in document S/PRST/1994/22, a set of guidelines to be considered in such future operations. And the cost of financing existing operations has been multiplied by five in five years, reaching a magnitude four times larger than the resources committed to operational activities for development. Hence, perhaps, the source of the so-called misperception that the Organization was dedicated primarily to peace-keeping to the detriment of other urgent activities such as development.

As stated on other occasions, my delegation believes that the time has come for a comprehensive rethinking of the principles and practices observed by the United Nations in the field of peace-keeping.

In view of the complexity and dangers involved in some of the new types of operations, troop-contributing countries increasingly request to be kept thoroughly abreast of the developments in the field and to be consulted by the Security Council during its decision-making process. This is understandable and justifiable, since the great majority of Member States contributing to these operations are not represented in the Council. While we welcome the more frequent consultations with troop-contributing countries by the Secretariat, with a view to keeping the former fully apprised of developments having implications for their personnel, additional measures are needed to increase the transparency and accountability in the decision-making process concerning peace-keeping operations.

Moreover, the mandates for many of the new operations seem quite wide-ranging, involving not only peace-keeping activities but also humanitarian assistance, electoral monitoring, mine-clearing, rebuilding of institutions, and so forth. In view of the obvious complexity of the task of coordinating and integrating all these functions, such mandates should be carefully considered by all parties concerned, including those that will be in charge of carrying them out in the field. This is a crucial area where in-depth consultations between the Security Council, the Secretariat and the troop-contributing countries are clearly required.

My delegation shares the Secretary-General's concern regarding the seriousness of the Organization's financial situation. Brazil is fully committed to the efforts to provide a sound, equitable, transparent and stable financial base for the Organization and stands ready to cooperate in the deliberations of the Fifth Committee with a view to finding a solution that is satisfactory to all concerned.

We note that in his conclusion the Secretary-General emphasizes that the continuing commitment of all States to the United Nations must rest on a conviction that the Organization is capable of comprehensively addressing global issues of peace, sustainable development and social justice. Furthermore, he observes that such a commitment can be achieved through the process of democratization within States, among States and throughout the international system.

The delegation of Brazil considers these observations particularly fitting to the current state of the Organization, as they seem to recall the intimate correlation between democracy and taxation through representation. It is the strong belief of my delegation that the commitment of Member States to the United Nations must derive from a generalized perception of the legitimacy of the whole Organization. Legitimacy, in turn, is predicated upon equitable representation in all relevant decision-making bodies.

We underscore, in this regard, that in its resolution 1854 (XVII), adopted in 1962, the General Assembly endorsed the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice recognizing the principle of the collective responsibility of all Member States in the financing of peace-keeping operations, and that in its resolution 1874 (S-IV), adopted at its fourth special session, in 1963, the Assembly enshrined the principle of the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council in such financing. The Assembly, in its resolution 3101 (XXVIII), adopted in 1973, took these principles fully into account in establishing the current special scale of assessments for peace-keeping operations.

The great bulk of the expenses of the Organization derives from the unprecedented number of peace-keeping operations authorized by the Security Council. The permanent members have a special responsibility for these decisions. Brazil firmly believes that the best way to provide a sound and long-lasting solution to the financial situation of the Organization is to observe the principle of equitable taxation with equitable representation. We stand ready to cooperate in this endeavour.

Mr. Abdellah (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): We are meeting today to evaluate the activities of the Organization during the past year and to work collectively to enable it to deal effectively with challenges in the field of security and peace-keeping and in the promotion of global integrated development.

The Secretary-General's has made a useful contribution to revitalizing the Organization to enable it to promote the triptych of peace, development and democracy. He has provided the impetus for fruitful reflection on the Organization's future and the vision of the international order that must be built: an order that will be more just and will be directed towards partnership and constructive dialogue but will not disregard the mutual interests of States.

In this context I would like to state again how much we appreciate the untiring efforts the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, is making to set up the structures and instruments that can revive preventive diplomacy, good offices and mediation as key instruments for containing or helping to resolve situations of potential or actual conflict.

In his report entitled "An Agenda for Development", Mr. Boutros-Ghali states that

> "Development is a fundamental human right. Development is the most secure basis for peace". *(A/48/935, para. 3)*

We fully endorse that statement. We also have in mind the urgent requirement that the development needs of peoples and communities be met.

Indeed, most conflicts have their origins in the disastrous social and economic situation in some communities. Displacements of population and flows of refugees often result in violence followed by a breakdown of State structures and the destruction of infrastructures.

We are aware of the humanitarian imperative referred to in the Secretary-General's report, and we endorse his identification of poverty and underdevelopment as two of the critical factors contributing to the breakdown of societies and the outbreak of violence.

We are also convinced that preventive action should take pride of place in addressing difficulties and obstacles that could lead to violence. As the Secretary-General has emphasized, determined and sustained action towards development is the best course that the international community can take to ensure that the crisis in development will not continue.

From that point of view, the quest for effective structural solutions to the problem of indebtedness is a key approach to be explored as we seek to ensure the harmonious development to which our nations aspire.

Indebtedness, which some developing countries have begun to solve, remains a major source of concern for African countries. In this connection, it should be noted that deteriorating terms of trade and a fall in commodity prices are among the main impediments to the continent's development efforts. The goal of sustainable development therefore remains one of the main challenges before the international community, since we must maintain the environmental balance while protecting the right of present and future generations to economic development and social progress, without jeopardizing the foundations of a healthy environment.

To that end, and aware of the need for international and regional cooperation in this area, in conformity with Earth Summit decisions, Tunisia and its Mediterranean partners will hold in November in Tunisia a regional conference on sustainable development. That meeting, which has been dubbed "Med 21", will bring together environment Ministers of Mediterranean countries and representatives of the European Union, the World Bank, the United Nations Environment Programme, the United Nations Development Programme and other international and non-governmental organizations. This conference, convened by President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, is a turning point in the history of the region, giving concrete expression to the determination of the countries on both shores of the Mediterranean to ease their transition into the next century with a regenerated and promising ecosystem.

Sustained recovery and development in Africa must remain one of the Organization's priorities. As we see it, this is not a matter of preferential or discriminatory treatment that would benefit one region at the expense of another. It is not only a long-term investment in the well-being of mankind, but also a duty of the international community in order to bring this region into the mainstream of the world economy and trade and thus effectively attack the real, deep-rooted causes of local and regional conflicts. In this context, we welcome the efforts of the Secretary-General, his staff, the Economic Commission for Africa to implement the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s. The reports on financial flows to Africa and the creation of a commodity diversification fund, in the context of the New Agenda, deserve our support and call for an in-depth follow-up, examination, followed by concrete, practical measures.

In his message to the General Assembly, President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, the current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), stated:

> "Clearly, the efforts that Africa is currently making to solve the problems of the present and to secure the future deserve the support and assistance of the international community." *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 15th meeting, p. 5)*

This appeal for solidarity and for more generous support is justified by, among other things, the determination of Africa, and the work it has already done towards reform and adaptation and to integrate itself further into the world economy and relaunch the development of its productive capacities and human resources.

In this connection, I am pleased to state that, beginning today, African Ministers of Trade are holding in Tunis a conference to consider the impact of the outcome of the Uruguay Round of negotiations on the economies of their respective countries. The Tunis conference is a concrete expression of African countries' full commitment to the Uruguay Round agreements and to be active participants in the new shape of international trade in goods and services. The endeavours of the African continent in this regard clearly call for the international community's support and for substantial mobilization of additional resources to back up the bold, decisive actions taken by African countries, despite the unpredictability and uncertainty of the world economic and financial situation.

That is why we must express our concern, in the light of the Secretary-General's report, at the disturbing trend towards reducing the resources allocated for operational activities and development in general. We are particularly concerned by the fact that the operational arm of the Organization, the Economic Commission for Africa, no longer has sufficient funds to carry through its development activities in Africa. Additional extrabudgetary resources would be helpful and highly appreciated. They are a necessary support for the implementation of these projects, which are of vital importance to African countries.

Preventive action, both diplomatic and humanitarian, is commendable and has our firm support. Whether we are addressing natural disasters, conflict situations or other difficulties, the Organization must manage its human and material resources effectively. We must express our gratitude for the untiring efforts of the Secretary-General to consolidate the appropriate structures within the Secretariat and to ensure that the Organization's activities, particularly in peace-keeping operations, are more effective.

A qualitative improvement in planning and management of operations has been observed. It is clear that this effort must be pursued. But we wish to express our full understanding of the Secretary-General's concern, reiterated in his statement to the Assembly on 12 October, that the financial stability of the Organization remains a matter of concern and a major imperative for all of us. It is, in fact, a guarantee of the implementation of collective security, as provided for in the Charter.

The strengthening of the Organization's peace-keeping capacities should in no way undermine its activities in the field of enhancing socio-economic development, particularly of the poorer peoples and countries. We believe that even peace-keeping operations should be accompanied by firm economic measures. It is not enough to provide specific assistance; there must be a commitment to assist in reconstructing areas affected by the destruction and violence of conflicts. This must involve the construction of health facilities and schools, assistance in mine-clearance, agricultural rehabilitation and the building of infrastructure for the supply of drinking water and other such basic activities. The Organization has a clear responsibility to assist communities that have been thus affected. These measures to restore and subsequently consolidate peace after hostilities have ceased are the minimum level of commitment to be sought of the United Nations.

The work of regional organizations, either as a driving force or in support services, cannot replace that of the United Nations. For its part, the OAU, which has established institutional mechanisms for the prevention and management of conflicts, as well as a political framework for undertaking certain peace-keeping operations, either jointly or directly through its own efforts, intends to continue its cooperation with the United Nations so as to enhance its operational and logistic capabilities and contribute to peacemaking and peace-keeping.

Mr. Kharrazi (Islamic Republic of Iran): At the outset, I should like to join previous speakers in thanking the Secretary-General for his informative and comprehensive report, which presents the many activities and achievements of the Organization that constitute the substance of our deliberations today.

The Permanent Representative of Indonesia, speaking on behalf of the non-aligned countries, has already commented on various issues mentioned in the report. My delegation fully endorses those remarks, and therefore will limit itself to certain areas of discussion.

On the eve of its fiftieth anniversary the United Nations faces unique opportunities and challenges. Recent substantial developments at the international level have given rise to re-evaluations aimed at enhancing its effectiveness. Our Organization, as the sole world structure, has both the responsibility and the potential to respond to the demands for change by moving in the right direction. In this connection, my delegation notes with satisfaction the Secretary-General's view that

> "The United Nations must renew and strengthen its commitment to work in the economic and social fields as an end in itself and as the means of attending to the sources of conflicts" *(A/49/1, para. 4).*

Routine serious consideration of the concerns and interests of the world's majority, those living in developing countries, is the ideal for shaping a favourable international environment. The United Nations should spare no effort to develop an effective mechanism to deal with this vital need. One essential element would be consideration of the views expressed by the majority of Member States, which could effectively ensure the comprehensiveness of that process. In this context, my delegation believes that the positions adopted by the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 must be appropriately considered by the United Nations.

As the Secretary-General has stated, contributions to United Nations development activities have dramatically decreased, making it difficult for the United Nations system to fulfil its commitments on development issues as envisaged in the Charter. However, while the Rio Conference stressed that contributions to development programmes should be increased, we have unfortunately witnessed a serious downturn in the resources available for development.

In recent years the questions of the revitalization of the United Nations system, especially of its development activities, and of coordination between its different organs have been prominently raised by all Member States. In this regard, we have witnessed some progress in the implementation of resolution 47/199 and other related resolutions, but much more should be done to enhance the efficiency, effectiveness and responsiveness of United Nations operational activities, in conformity with the requirements of developing countries.

While my delegation supports the strengthening of the resident coordination system, we strongly believe that the national plans and priorities of each country constitute the only viable frame of reference for United Nations operational activities and that the authority of the resident coordinator should not go beyond that defined by General Assembly resolutions.

We attach great importance to the revised report of the Secretary-General on an Agenda for Development, which is to be issued in the next few days. We hope that this report will contain action-oriented recommendations and concrete proposals on various issues, including international trade, financial resources, debt relief, transfer of technology and a coordination system for development activities at the international level.

As indicated in the report, the complexity of the international situation and the deterioration of peace and security in many parts of the world have made it necessary for the Security Council to play an active role, evidenced in part by its frequent formal and informal meetings. In our view, the more active the Council is, the more accountable it should be to the general membership of the Organization. Needless to say, overlooking that accountability would seriously undermine the credibility of the Council. The Secretary-General, in paragraph 30 of his report, states that there is some concern at the Council's tendency to deal with issues "that are regarded as falling outside its purview". Moreover, to be more credible and democratic, the Council should be transparent, cease applying double standards and improve its decision-making process and working methods.

The Secretary-General has indicated that increased participation in the consideration in the General Assembly of the item relating to the annual report of the Security Council is evidence of Member States' interest in the work of the Council. My delegation, while concurring with this argument, emphasizes the importance of implementing resolution 48/264, on revitalization of the work of the General Assembly, and in particular operative paragraph 4, which:

> "Invites the President of the General Assembly, following consultations, to propose appropriate ways and means to facilitate an in-depth discussion by the Assembly of matters contained in the reports submitted to it by the Security Council".

My country has always supported the need to protect and promote human rights, which should be guided by the principles of impartiality, objectivity and non-selectivity. However, we, along with other non-aligned countries, strongly reject the use of human rights as a means of political exploitation and express concern at the tendency to address some aspects of human rights selectively while neglecting economic, social and cultural rights, which relate to human needs. We are of the view that democracy, development and respect for all human rights and fundamental freedoms are interdependent.

In this context, the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran has taken note of the activities undertaken by the High Commissioner for Human Rights, as reflected in the Secretary-General's report. We participated actively last year in the Working Group of the Third Committee, in which the mandate of the High Commissioner was shaped. We firmly believe that the Working Group of the Third Committee at this session should expedite its deliberations so that the objectives set out in the Vienna Declaration, as well as those principles contained in the Declaration on the Right to Development, can be promoted and reinforced. In this regard, every effort should be made to evaluate the existing mechanisms and procedures of the United Nations human rights bodies, so as to avoid duplication in the interest of streamlining the work of those bodies.

As regards paragraph 744 of the report, on the 1995 review and extension Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, we are convinced that during the Conference special attention should be given to reviewing the Treaty, in order to evaluate its achievements and find ways of remedying its shortcomings, before any discussions are held on its limited renewal.

Turning to paragraph 746 of the Secretary-General's report, on the chemical weapons Convention, we believe that no tangible progress has been achieved in the course of discussions in the Preparatory Commission for the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons. It is a matter of concern that certain countries are not prepared to honour their commitments under the chemical weapons Convention, in particular on the implementation of article 11 of the Convention, relating to economic and technical cooperation in the chemical sector.

In his report, the Secretary-General points to several aspects of peace-keeping operations and highlights the importance of those operations and their contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security. My delegation is of the view that all aspects of peace-keeping operations should strictly adhere to the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, in particular the principle of full respect for the sovereignty, sovereign equality and territorial integrity of all States and non-intervention in their internal affairs. Peace-keeping operations should be distinct from other types of United Nations field operations, which are governed by their own respective mandates; equitable opportunities should be ensured to facilitate the widest possible participation of Member States in peace-keeping operations. In this respect, the United Nations should avail itself of every offer that Member States are prepared to make.

Commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations deserves to be marked by a revitalized and objective tendency towards proper adjustments, as required by the new era. Many ideas have already been put forward as to how to make the Organization more capable and efficient. Next year, such views will be increasingly brought up by almost all actors on the international scene. Tremendous efforts and expertise should be deployed to facilitate the momentous task of dealing with all these ideas and views in a comprehensive manner. The Secretariat among other groups will have to shoulder an onerous responsibility in tackling this issue, particularly in preparing the required reports. As we cover all the steps of this re-examination process, significant elements that must not be neglected are: a sober analysis of the Organizations' past performance, especially in the development field, and the search for common ground to achieve global consensus. It is an undeniable fact that the primacy of political considerations over humanitarian values has sabotaged felicitous utilization of much of the potential of the Organization; the persistence of this situation constitutes the shortcoming that is most hazardous for the future work of the United Nations. As emphasized earlier by the Foreign Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran in his statement before the Assembly,

> "Preparations and planning for the second half-century of the existence of the United Nations should be conducted in full cognizance of this shortcoming, and with a view to enhancing the effectiveness of the Organization in carrying out those agreed tasks that are of interest and importance to the international community in its entirety". (*Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 5th meeting, p. 42*)

Mr. Cassar (Malta): This is the third report submitted by the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in accordance with Article 98 of the Charter. My delegation would like to join others in congratulating the Secretary-General on having reported on the work of the Organization in such a comprehensive manner.

The Secretary-General's recommends that the United Nations should attend to the immediate problems of conflict, under all circumstances keeping in mind the aspects of development. Today, the intrinsic link between a lasting peace and efforts to promote economic, social and political development is universally acknowledged. This awareness, however, brings with it new responsibilities and obligations. As the Secretary-General points out,

> "We can build enduring foundations for a secure, just and creative era for all humanity". (*A/49/1, para. 791*)

> "The extraordinary challenges and possibilities of this moment in time require the most dedicated and far-reaching response". (*ibid., para. 795*)

My Government shares the conviction that in all its efforts the United Nations should derive its purpose not from minimum political denominators but from the principles of common humanity, the values enshrined in the Charter.

Mr. Ntakibirora (Burundi), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The United Nations and the system of institutions that have evolved around it are essentially rooted in the experiences and idealism that prevailed in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. The cold-war era vastly disturbed the functioning of these institutions and, in some key areas, eroded their credibility. In today's rapidly changing world, these institutions are urgently seeking to redefine and revitalize their roles in order to enhance their relevance and effectiveness. The present discussion is an important element in that ongoing process.

The report rightfully stresses the importance of a sound financial base for the United Nations to respond to the varied demands imposed by a new world order. The commitment of Member States to ensuring adequate financial resources is of extreme importance. All United Nations Members should honour their obligations. Malta welcomes the administrative reforms that have been introduced within the Organization, aimed at eliminating unnecessary bureaucratic layers, and appreciates the full cooperation of the Secretariat staff in responding quickly and flexibly to new mandates of the Organization.

The Secretary-General proposes to improve the budgetary review and the approval process for peace-keeping operations. The granting of longer periods of financial authorization is extremely important. Member States should be in the position described by the Secretary-General, able

> "to anticipate, with a greater degree of accuracy, the financial burdens they will be expected to bear when peace-keeping mandates are extended by the Security Council". (*ibid., para. 105*)

The scope of United Nations peace-keeping has moved away from the traditional patrolling of buffer zones and supervision of cease-fires. More imaginative and, at times, even dangerous operations, such as the disarming of warring factions and the protection of the delivery of humanitarian relief, are being boldly undertaken. In just over five years, the number of military personnel involved in United Nations peace-keeping has risen from around 10,000 to more than 70,000.

The report identifies some of the difficulties encountered in this increasingly challenging venture and the efforts to address them. Of particular interest is the Secretary-General's initiative to establish stand-by arrangements for peace-keeping. At a pre-operation stage individual Members would enter into commitments with the United Nations to contribute specific resources for peace-keeping operations, within agreed response times. The sovereign right to decide on participation in the specific operation for which assistance is being sought would be retained. My Government is examining these arrangements with the attention they deserve.

During his term as President of the General Assembly at its forty-fifth session Mr. Guido de Marco launched a proposal that the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) declare itself a regional arrangement under Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter, a proposal later formalized by Malta at the CSCE Council of Ministers meeting at Prague and at the Helsinki follow-up meeting. That proposal was adopted by the CSCE Heads of State and Government at the Helsinki II Summit.

My Government welcomes the initiatives taken by the Secretary-General in the past year to further the cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations. This cooperation is particularly important because the scourge of war still brings untold sorrow to mankind in a number of regional conflicts.

My delegation believes that cooperation with regional organizations is also important with regard to new threats to internal and regional security, such as those posed by international drug trafficking and organized crime. The work of the United Nations International Drug Control Programme, headed by Mr. Giorgio Giacomelli, deserves our praise and merits our complete and comprehensive support.

A vision of international solidarity is essential as we strive to ensure the enjoyment of human dignity for all persons forming part of our global community. The consolidation of democracy is of primary importance in this respect, and my Government fully supports United Nations efforts in helping States that request assistance in this field.

The monitoring of elections is a key contribution to stability; elections must not only be fair, but also be seen to be fair. The erosion of democracy through the manipulation of elections is an affront to the will of the people. Nothing justifies the thwarting of the people's right to choose those who will govern them.

The interrelatedness of development and security is manifest in the dangers lurking in a world sharply divided between an affluent minority and a poor majority. If the axis of global confrontation which existed between East and West is not to shift to one between North and South, we must ensure that the iron curtain is not replaced by a poverty curtain.

The capacity of the United Nations system to address the wide range of mutually related issues is weakened by an uneven evolution of its major institutions.

The Economic and Social Council was entrusted by the Charter with responsibility for economic and social development. However, it has been unable to develop a viable relationship, not only with the Bretton Woods Institutions, but also with a number of specialized agencies with sectoral mandates in the field of development. More critically, the Council has failed to develop that relationship with the General Assembly which would have ensured the proper insertion of the development dimension into the quest for global peace and security. The immediacy with which development issues are merging into issues of security should lend urgency to the long-standing effort to restructure and revitalize the economic and social sectors of the United Nations.

The General Assembly is the only organ of the international institutional system in which all States are full and permanent members, with the widest possible mandate to consider all issues bearing on inter-State relations. The process of revitalization of the General Assembly is only in part that of making its deliberations more streamlined and efficient. Efficiency must have a purpose beyond itself. In the case of the General Assembly, the purpose is the political objective of placing the Assembly firmly at the centre of international cooperation towards peace and development.

The primary task of the Organization remains the maintenance of international peace and security. In his report the Secretary-General states:

> "In the altered context of today's world, the definition of security is no longer limited to questions of land and weapons. It now includes economic well-being, environmental sustainability and the protection of human rights." (*A/49/1, para. 4*)

These elements are key components of that broader common heritage of mankind which we acknowledge as a force of inspiration in our action.

The concept of a common heritage is today enshrined in a number of conventions. This is to our collective credit, for it proves a sense of responsibility and equity in viewing our obligations towards present and future generations. It is proof of the intergenerational solidarity for which we all strive in the creation of a truly dignified humanity.

This universal acceptance has brought about a growth in the number of United Nations bodies which endeavour to protect and promote the distinct aspects of the common heritage. These units work independently in an almost completely uncoordinated fashion. In our efforts in distinct fields we must not lose sight of the broader picture. Separate spheres of activity must work in unison if the worthy objective of a sustainable legacy for future generations is to be achieved. Institutional fragmentation poses a real threat to an effective functioning of a more equitable international order. Each cog affects the functioning of the whole. Institutional oversight is essential.

Rather than reinventing the wheel, my Government is proposing an evolution in the role of the Trusteeship Council. In first proposing this reform four years ago, my Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Guido de Marco, as President of the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly, suggested alternative approaches to the functions and mandate of the Trusteeship Council. Now, following the November 1993 plebiscite in which the people of Palau freely exercised their right to self-determination. the Trusteeship Agreement of the last remaining Territory under the trusteeship system came to an end. In view of this, on 25 May 1994 the Trusteeship Council adopted an amendment to its rules of procedure establishing that the Council will now meet as and where the occasion might require by its decision or its

President's decision, or at the request of a majority of its members, the General Assembly or the Security Council.

In his report, the Secretary-General recommends that the General Assembly proceed with steps to eliminate the organ in accordance with Article 108 of the Charter. My Government has taken note of this. Before proceeding with this line of action, however, we feel that alternatives should be considered. The Trusteeship Council has fallen victim to its own success. It fulfilled the mandate prescribed for it almost 50 years ago. We believe that its mandate can evolve to meet the needs of a changed international system.

The new role of the Council would be that of holding in trust for humanity its common heritage. It would provide a working forum in which different authorities responsible for the common heritage and concerns can coordinate their efforts. Such coordination is today required over a broad spectrum of interrelated issues ranging from climate change to human rights. By consolidating the manner in which the common heritage can continue to be part of international policy-making, we would be reaffirming and committing ourselves to the Secretary-General's appeal, that of employing the United Nations more efficiently, effectively and responsibly across the widest range of global concerns.

A transformed Trusteeship Council would give true expression to the Secretary-General's concluding statement in his report, namely, that

> "the United Nations is even more than an instrument of peace, justice and cooperative development among nations; it is the repository of hope for humanity and the future. That hope deserves our deepest continuing commitment." (*A/49/1, para. 797*)

The challenges facing the United Nations after its fiftieth year are daunting. A second-generation United Nations must shoulder the responsibility of ensuring peace in freedom. For too long humanity has been held hostage to the ideological divisions which denied it of a deserved participation and sharing in the common wealth. The suffering of so many millions still denied their rightful enjoyment of human dignity leaves us with no alternative but to work to make the principled resolve of our forefathers in the Charter become a tangible reality.

Mrs. Albright (United States of America): The United States is pleased to have this opportunity to respond to the Secretary-General's clear and comprehensive report (A/49/1). The report contains a wealth of information reflecting the range and value of United Nations work. My Government appreciates the energy that the Secretary-General has brought to his responsibilities.

As we enter the fiftieth year of the United Nations, the tides of history have granted us an unprecedented opportunity to work cooperatively towards the lofty goals for which the United Nations was formed. Today the dividends of international cooperation are evident around the globe: reduced nuclear tensions, an agreement on world trade, heroic progress towards peace in the Middle East, an inspiring transition to democracy in South Africa, the restoration of legitimate authority in Haiti, growing awareness of the need for sustainable development, and steady improvements in child immunization and health. In every region of the world we see examples of men and women pushing back the limits of past possibility and rising above historical resentments, insecurities and limitations. From Central Europe to Central America, from South-East Asia to Africa, we see the release of new and positive energies nurtured by freedom and dedicated to the future.

But as the Secretary-General's report illustrates, there are perilous cross-currents at work. In Bosnia and Rwanda, we have witnessed atrocities of a magnitude matched only rarely in this century. In too many regions the exploitation of ethnic and cultural divisions is fostering instability, strangling growth, slowing reforms and forcing innocent families from their homes.

The explosion of humanitarian emergencies has necessarily seized the immediate attention of the international community, distracting from strategies for more lasting human and social development. Our challenge is to cope with immediate needs while assembling the building blocks required for long-term progress. In this endeavour there is no sure recipe for success. No model is without flaws. A broad and continuing international discussion aimed at establishing a working consensus and partnership on these issues is required. The United States will continue to contribute its own ideas, and we will continue to listen with care to the ideas of others.

As a way of contributing to that discussion, let me today cite briefly some of the specific steps that the United States believes can be taken by the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session to advance the interlocking goals of peace, prosperity and democracy in the new world.

First, we must persist in efforts to make United Nations peace-keeping a more effective instrument of collective security. My Government is encouraged by the progress that is being made to discipline decision-making, modernize capabilities, professionalize management and improve coordination with humanitarian operations. The experience in Rwanda highlights the need for a United Nations logistics base and for arrangements that will allow a more rapid deployment of forces in support of Security Council decisions.

The Secretary-General is correct to stress the importance of Member State backing for, and participation in, United Nations peace-keeping. Under President Clinton's leadership, the United States is striving to do its part. This fall we paid $1.2 billion to meet our assessments through the end of the calendar year. We are providing technical help, information and personnel to the Department of Peace-keeping Operations on a regular basis. We have responded positively to the Secretary General's stand-by forces initiative, listing the kinds of capabilities that might be available, under appropriate circumstances, to assist United Nations operations. America's unique capacities have also been employed outside United Nations peace-keeping, but in support of United Nations-endorsed objectives in Somalia, the former Yugoslavia, Kuwait, Rwanda and Haiti.

A second area where the Assembly can make a major contribution is arms control and disarmament. We will be seeking a strong endorsement for extending indefinitely the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The longevity of the Treaty is of central importance to the success of other arms-control and non-proliferation priorities, including a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty. We also look forward to the Assembly's continued support for measures to restrain trade in deadly anti-personnel land-mines. Too many civilians — especially too many children — have been killed or maimed by these indiscriminate, inexpensive tools of terror.

Thirdly, the Secretary-General mentions, in reference to his upcoming report on the Agenda for Development, a host of economic and environmental issues with which the United Nations system and its Member States must effectively deal. The times have made possible — and the depth of the problems urgently requires — pragmatic, non-divisive approaches which reflect the complexities of sustainable development that go beyond economic rates of growth. Goals should be forward-looking, but achievable. The United States believes that Agenda 21 and the Commission on Sustainable Development, supplemented by the outcomes of recent or upcoming global conferences on human rights, population, social development and women, should form the core of the United Nations development agenda. We also see some need for strengthening cooperation between United Nations agencies and the World Bank and other Bretton Woods institutions, without encroaching on the fundamental responsibilities of either. And we continue to believe deeply that open economic and political systems are essential prerequisites to broadened opportunity and sustained growth.

In his report the Secretary-General correctly cites another priority, which is to strengthen the links between emergency assistance, rehabilitation and long-term development. The United States will continue to work closely with the Secretariat and other States to make progress towards this goal.

Fourthly, the United States urges United Nations Members to continue broadening and deepening the activities of this Organization in support of democracy, human rights and justice. These, too, are interlocking goals and our support for them, both political and financial, is a vital component of preventive diplomacy and development. In that connection, we are impressed with the bold and innovative efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and the continuing diligence and dedication of the Centre for Human Rights. We believe the United Nations should take pride in its successful efforts to support transitions to civil peace and democracy in places as diverse as Namibia, Cambodia, El Salvador, South Africa and, we hope, now Mozambique. Finally, we attach profound significance to the work of the war—crimes Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and to the parallel panel we expect to see created for Rwanda.

These efforts, taken together, are testimony to the growth of this institution, not merely as an instrument of Governments, but as a voice for individuals, each of whom, regardless of gender, race or ethnicity, deserves to be free, deserves to have his or her basic dignity respected and deserves security from the perpetrators of crimes against humanity.

The fifth issue I will mention today concerns the Middle East. Yesterday, in Jordan, the world witnessed further evidence that past limits of possibility have been exceeded. Even the deepest resentments and insecurities can be overcome by those determined to shape history, not be imprisoned by it. We will have an opportunity in the Assembly this fall to build on the breakthroughs that have occurred between Israel and Jordan and between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization. The time has come to dispense entirely with the polemics and divisiveness of the past. In that volatile region peace remains fragile. Our message to terrorists on all sides who would destroy peace must be resolute. This Organization must stand unambiguously on the side of the region's peacemakers. We must do all we can to encourage them and to help their citizens achieve what President Clinton has called the quiet miracle of a normal life.

Sixthly, the United States remains committed to working with all Members to make the United Nations a better, more efficient mechanism for meeting the shared needs of our citizens. We welcome the Secretary-General's plan for reorganizing the ably led Department of Administration and Management in order to achieve

> "a lean, streamlined department with clear lines of responsibility and accountability." *(A/49/1, para. 62)*

We were pleased, as well, with the Assembly's decision to establish a new Office of Internal Oversight Services. This fall, and in the months ahead, we shall seek to ensure that adequate resources are available for that Office and that its operational independence is maintained.

We should bear in mind that in this era of plentiful emergencies and limited resources efficiency has a human face. Funds saved through better management, less duplication and less waste are funds available to care for children, to return refugees to their homes and to help communities to build or rebuild for the future. Member States have a responsibility to work with the Secretary-General and his staff to guarantee that the funds contributed to the United Nations are used wisely and efficiently.

Member States also have an obligation to see that the financial viability of the Organization is maintained. As the Secretary-General points out in this report, this is a political, not just a financial, issue. We believe that a high-level, open-ended working group of the General Assembly should review the elements of and possible solutions to the funding problem.

Finally, we encourage continued work on the issue of Security Council reform. The United States is among the many countries that have stressed the importance of achieving broader participation on the Council without compromising effectiveness. Germany and Japan should be added as permanent members in recognition of their capacity to contribute to international peace, prosperity and security. The addition of three non-permanent seats would broaden participation further, without unduly expanding the Council.

We must also build on current efforts to involve Member States in and inform them about Council activities through increased transparency and stronger working relationships between the Council and countries contributing to United Nations peace-keeping operations. The credibility and effectiveness of the United Nations Security Council is a matter of concern to all who wish to see resolute and cooperative action on behalf of international peace and law. We must not allow the procedural complexity of making reforms to impede their accomplishment.

We shall soon begin the second half century of the United Nations. Today, more than ever before, we have the chance to help the Organization to fulfil its promise. We need not confine ourselves to the cramped horizons of past accomplishment. The new United Nations has the potential to move far beyond the old in preserving peace, limiting the transfer of deadly arms, promoting democracy, defending human rights, encouraging sustainable economic growth, preventing disease and increasing respect for law.

Former Secretary-General Hammarskjöld once said that we should

> "stop thinking of the United Nations as a weird Picasso abstraction and see it as a drawing [we] made ourselves."

As Member States, we must all take responsibility for adapting the structures of the United Nations to the needs of a new era. In so doing, we will serve our taxpayers well, we will serve the United Nations well, and we will help to create a global order in which both our interests and the values enshrined in the United Nations Charter are reflected and preserved.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.

United Nations A/49/PV.47

General Assembly
Forty-ninth Session

Official Records

General Assembly

Forty-ninth Session

47th Meeting

Thursday, 27 October 1994, 3 p.m.
New York

President: Mr. Essy . . . . (Côte d'Ivoire)

In the absence of the President, Mr. Biegman (Netherlands), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

Agenda item 10 *(continued)*

Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization (A/49/1)

Mr. Bhatia (India): Our congratulations go to the President, Mr. Essy, who assumed the presidency at a significant juncture in the evolution of the functioning of the United Nations. The discussions on the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization (A/49/1) provide a particularly opportune occasion for us to share our vision of the United Nations as we approach its fiftieth anniversary and as we move ever closer to the twenty-first century.

At the outset, I would like to place on record my Government's deep appreciation for the leadership and drive that Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali has provided to the functioning of the United Nations. His deep understanding of the problems that face the international community at this critical juncture in its history are a great asset. We applaud his efforts in attempting to provide a new vision for the United Nations, keeping in view the individual complexities that abound in Member States and the need for consensus decision-making.

The report of the Secretary-General has been painstakingly produced. In his very opening remarks, the Secretary-General has sought to correct the impression that the United Nations as an Organization is dedicated primarily to peace-keeping. He stresses that the United Nations is deepening its attention to the foundations of peace, which lie in the realm of development. We in India have been concerned at the imbalance that created the impression referred to by the Secretary-General, and we firmly believe that the new agenda of the United Nations must give peace and development equal priority and treatment. It will be recalled that in his statement at the 14th meeting, on 3 October 1994, the leader of the Indian delegation to the General Assembly at its forty-ninth session stressed that with its universal participation and comprehensive mandate, the General Assembly should approach such a holistic vision and revitalize that vision into action.

As we debate the report of the Secretary-General in the perspective of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations and the approach of the twenty-first century, we should perhaps first dwell upon the challenges that we are likely to carry from the past into the twenty-first century. An understanding of these challenges is critical to the new role that we envisage for the United Nations. The United Nations is constituted of sovereign nation-States and the challenge they face on the path of nation-building, based on pluralism, is first and foremost the massive challenge of development. Failure to meet this challenge would mean greater inequality and poverty, which would only breed further tension. The other major challenges are care for the environment, the threat to the unity and peace of nation-States and fundamentalist fanaticism traceable to causes unrelated to religion.

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, Room C-178. Corrections will be issued after the end of the session in a consolidated corrigendum. When the result of a recorded and/or roll-call vote is followed by an asterisk, see annex to the record.

The Secretary-General's annual report makes a valiant effort to address the challenges to which I have referred. The position of my Government on the issues involved and the methodology for addressing these challenges was spelt out in some detail in the statement of the leader of the Indian delegation in the general debate on 3 October 1994.

The efforts made by my Government to adapt to the historic changes that have taken place in the world during the past few years have focused on adapting available positive ideas, processes and technologies to India's specific requirements. In doing so, we do not intend to forget our own traditions and our own special circumstances. The challenges are common, but uniform solutions, to be successfully implemented, keeping in view considerations of equity, must necessarily take cognizance of national situations.

Solutions must also be flexible. As the Prime Minister of India once described it:

> "In India we recognize the change but maintain a balance, which has come to be known as the middle way."

We believe that at this United Nations we must find a "collective middle way" that reflects the genius of our individual traditions and is consistent with the need for rapid economic development, modernity and sustained peace.

The United Nations is today involved in attempting to keep the peace in different parts of the world. In the absence of a common vision in the post-cold-war era, its experiences in this domain have been mixed. In spite of the end of the cold war, the perception persists that, somehow, balance-of-power considerations continue to impact on decision-making at the United Nations. The notions of balance of power and the retention of exclusive rights for the militarily and economically dominant States are still preponderant. It is still being argued by some leading analysts that a new world order will have to emerge, much as it did in the past century, from a reconciliation and balancing of competing national interests. It is regrettable that such perceptions not only exist but continue to influence the activities of the international community. For the international community to succeed in the imperative of maintaining international peace and security, it must be ensured that the purposes and principles set forth in the United Nations Charter are adhered to, not only by Member States, but by the Organization itself and its specialized agencies.

I have chosen to address the report of the Secretary-General in philosophical terms, for I believe that our debate on his report provides us with yet another opportunity to learn from our past mistakes and to focus the United Nations on a direction that would enable us together to establish a new world order characterized by true equity, peace and prosperity for all peoples and nations.

Before I conclude, I should like to associate my delegation with the statement made earlier today by Indonesia on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Mr. Kalpagé, (Sri Lanka): I would like to extend the grateful thanks of the Sri Lanka delegation to the Secretary-General for his report on the work of the Organization. Last year's report was described by the Secretary-General himself as "the longest report...to the General Assembly...in many years" *(A/48/l, para.26)*. I would like to describe this year's report as a comprehensive and well-conceived account of the multifarious and far-reaching activities of the Organization at a particularly complex time in its evolution.

The Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, speaking on behalf of the non-aligned countries, has made an analysis of the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization, with which my delegation, in general, agrees.

As the introduction to the report indicates, the Secretary-General has sought to shift the Organization's focus away from a primary emphasis on post-cold-war political priorities to a more fundamental, if less dramatic, focus on development concerns. The emphasis on development is not one which ignores or shies away from political realities. In fact the Secretary-General seeks to delve into the root causes of political instability —

> "deepening...attention to the foundations of peace, which lie in the realm of development". *(A/49/1, para.1)*

The report covers the full gamut of the United Nations global and regional involvement — development activities, social and humanitarian concerns, the protection of human rights, preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping, peace-building, disarmament, and so on. What is of particular importance to my delegation is that each of these specific areas should not be considered as separate entities to be approached in isolation. We see all these issues as interconnected and intrinsically related to the Organization's ultimate goal: the welfare of humanity in all its dimensions. In his report, the Secretary-General himself identifies five development dimensions which he sees as functioning together in an interlocking and mutually reinforcing manner. These are peace, the economy, the environment, society and democracy — parts of a whole.

These are all aspects of critical importance to every State. However, the United Nations is perhaps of greater relevance to smaller developing countries which are more vulnerable to the fallout from the immense changes that are still taking place. These countries need to rely heavily on the United Nations, including at the most basic level, to preserve their independence and sovereignty and to protect them from unsolicited external intervention.

Small countries are not merely subjective recipients of the benefits of the United Nations. In a real way, by their active participation in the work of the Organization, they contribute to the common purposes and principles of the Charter. In a world in which interdependence has moved from an abstraction to a reality, a reality which we are all being forced to accept, the function of the United Nations as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations has become even more central. The United Nations remains a parliament to which all sovereign national units of the human family need to belong. In this situation, the Security Council plays very much the role of a cabinet as in a functioning parliamentary democracy.

Interest in the work of the Security Council, and indeed of membership in it, stems not only from apprehensions that small States may be left out of vital decisions affecting their people. The United Nations, more than at any other time in its history, is not only more deeply involved in its traditional functions but has moved into radically new areas of activity which profoundly affect all States as never before. The Secretary-General's report makes this abundantly clear.

It is in this context that the establishment of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council, acquires special significance. The Secretary-General has noted that although the discussions in the Group were constructive they did not result in concrete recommendations. Nevertheless the message that emanated from the Group is not one that should be ignored. We are glad that the President of the General Assembly has caused the Open-ended Working Group to continue its mandate in the current session as well. We hope that in the Secretary-General's report next year he will be able to report conclusions which will make the Security Council more transparent in methodology, more representative in character, and therefore, in sum, more efficient and effective in its functioning.

Confronted with an increasing case-load of conflicts, the use of the instrument of peace-keeping has grown in frequency, variety, complexity and cost. Some peace-keeping efforts have fully succeeded while others have not. Some have generated controversy. There were also situations in which the peace-keeping efforts failed to materialize in a timely manner. We agree with the Secretary-General that these setbacks should not make us discard this useful tool. However, our experience shows that peace-keeping operations are not an all-embracing panacea. A consultative rather than a prescriptive approach is needed. Action has to be taken selectively and on a case-by-case basis. We therefore agree with the Secretary-General that much can be learned from the setbacks suffered by the current operations in defining a pragmatic policy.

The Secretary-General himself points out that some conflicts simply cannot be managed effectively, let alone resolved solely through the instrument of United Nations peace-keeping. There have also been instances where political interests of individual countries rather than the objective merits of the situation appear to dictate action or inaction. Peace-keeping costs have risen sharply. All Member States are required to share these costs, while decisions on peace-keeping are being taken by a limited number of Member States. This raises the question of accountability and legitimacy. The capacity of the United Nations and its agencies has been stretched to the maximum in coping with their peace-keeping obligations. This has sometimes resulted in the determination of priorities detrimental to the development activities of the United Nations.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Organization will be an appropriate occasion to rededicate the Organization to its indisputable mandate for collective action in promoting development, economic growth and prosperity for all. The World Summit for Social Development, which will take place in the fiftieth anniversary year, will be an opportunity to be grasped. We would therefore hope that the preparatory international debate on the critical questions of development and democratization will move beyond a replay of known positions. The Summit should produce a realistic programme of action which will promote prosperity for all. The trend of democratization sweeping across the globe runs the danger of being reversed if a renewed vision of development is not put into action and the underlying causes of conflict are not addressed. Without development, no enduring foundation for peace and security can be built. In 1995 we must strive to have a creative international consensus without sliding back to the rhetoric of a bygone era.

The financial situation of the United Nations continues to be in crisis. The cash-flow situation remains critical. There is a note of desperation when the Secretary-General states:

> "The unpredictability and irregularity of contributions from Member States make it extremely difficult to manage the Organization effectively". (*A/49/1, para. 103*)

My delegation supports the specific measures outlined in the report to encourage Member States to meet their Charter obligations.

In the interests of time, my delegation will refrain from discussing specific issues such as the Middle East, apartheid and peacemaking, on which positive developments have been reported by the Secretary-General.

There are several other issues also which threaten the efficient functioning of the United Nations. My delegation will reserve comment on such matters for the relevant agenda items.

In a rapidly changing international scene, it is difficult to foresee much of the future. But as the Secretary-General states:

> "The extraordinary challenges and possibilities of this moment in time require the most dedicated and far-reaching response." (*Ibid., para. 795*)

In the fiftieth anniversary year ahead, the occasion must be seized to provide a new momentum, a new vision, for the United Nations.

Mr. Tsepkala (Belarus) *(interpretation from Russian)*: The delegation of the Republic of Belarus expresses deep gratitude to the Secretary-General for preparing and submitting to us the report on the work of the Organization for the past year (A/49/1). The report certainly contains an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of the activities of the bodies of the United Nations and Departments of the Secretariat over the past year and, in addition, develops a concept of how to solve the most difficult tasks facing the United Nations at this stage — that is, how to attain the purposes set forth in the Charter. We note the scientific and philosophic elaboration of the idea of development as a means of ensuring long-term progress for mankind; and we fully support the idea that development is a multidimensional notion with a number of conceptual global categories. It is a process dealing with such areas of human activity as peace; the economy; the environment; and the social sphere, with its most important political component — democracy. It is vitally important that, at a time when bloodshed and conflict are escalating in so many parts of the world, the Secretary-General's report should point out the causes of such conflicts. Conflicts, primarily the most brutal ones, are ignited in those parts of the world where hunger rages, lawlessness rules and human rights are abused.

Over the past year the international community has witnessed a dynamic transitional period, with phenomena such as a re-evaluation of the present potential for peacemaking, development and cooperation between States. So it is quite natural that the United Nations should not have stood aloof from all of this. Its principal and subsidiary bodies, which are currently being restructured, are adapting to new circumstances and some of them, having achieved their noble goals, are yielding to other bodies confronted with equally difficult tasks. The Trusteeship Council and the Special Committee against Apartheid are good examples. The Commission for Sustainable Development is one of the new bodies.

The Republic of Belarus has already expressed its views on reform in the United Nations. We advocate a more effective, a more dynamic and a more democratic Organization which would act as a centre for coordinating the actions of States on a global, regional and national level. In the present rapidly changing circumstances, this can be achieved only if the Organization can adapt to a new situation quickly. In this connection, we support the Secretary-General's ideas on the principal organs of the Organization, including the Trusteeship Council.

The success of United Nations activities and implementation of its decisions depend to a large extent on what is done by the Secretariat. The Republic of Belarus welcomes the restructuring of the Secretariat being carried out by the Secretary-General which is designed to make it more streamlined and to ensure a stricter system of accountability and hierarchy. We trust that this will lead to a more economic use of the financial resources available.

The report of the Secretary-General now before us states quite correctly that there is no doubt that peace and development are related. The convening of many international conferences on development bears witness to the fact that peace is based on development, humanitarian activities and respect for human rights. These conferences are held at a time when conflicts are escalating, and this is no accident. In trying to root out the underlying causes of conflict, the international community must constantly turn to issues of development, including the sustainable development of small island States, reduction of the dangers of natural disasters, and issues of with population, housing and social development. Our Republic has participated in several international conferences on these issues and has contributed to the elaboration of the recommendations adopted.

Most of these events and conferences have been focused on the interests and needs of developing countries. Belarus accepts these specific circumstances and recognizes the needs of this group of countries, primarily the least developed and the ecologically most vulnerable. We have always supported, and will continue to support, international initiatives for those countries.

We also note that measures have been taken in the interest of countries that have their economies in transition, although these have not been very significant ones. But we cannot agree that the United Nations should pay little attention to the specific circumstances of economies in transition. Like other groups of States, these have their own needs and their own problems in trying to carry out the transition to sustainable development, and their legitimate interests should be taken into account. This is necessary also because of negative developments relating to the interim period of transition from a centralized economy to a market one: the untimely, limited application of measures for the protection and restoration of the environment to certain countries in this period of transition may have negative global implications for sustainable development in various parts of the world. There are serious obstacles to integration into the world and the European economy, most of which are not of an economic nature and constitute the vestiges of cold-war stereotypes. However, the economies in transition, including Belarus, are making active efforts to create open economic systems with a market orientation.

The delegation of Belarus thanks the Secretary-General for focusing attention in his report on relief operations relating to the Chernobyl disaster. The report states quite rightly that Belarus "bore the brunt of the radioactive contamination" and that the "consequences ... still affect large numbers of the population". (*A/49/1, para. 343*) However, as the Secretary-General also notes, there is a severe shortage of funds for the work of the Inter-Agency Task Force on Chernobyl. In this connection, the delegation of Belarus expresses its sincere thanks to the United Nations Coordinator of International Cooperation on Chernobyl for his measures to mobilize assistance in dealing with the consequences of the disaster. In particular, we thank him for sending letters to the heads of private enterprises throughout the world asking for participation in helping to alleviate the problems resulting from the accident. The Government of the Republic of Belarus hopes that these requests will be duly responded to and that additional resources will be received for the Chernobyl relief operation.

Turning now to chapter IV of the Secretary-General's report, which concerns preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution, my delegation first of all underlines the significance of "An Agenda for Peace" (*A/47/277*), which offers a conceptual foundation for discussing issues relating to international peace and security following the end of the cold war. The report, in fact, has been a starting-point for many specific reforms within the United Nations system. We therefore welcome the measures taken by the Secretary-General, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 47/120 A and the request of the President of the Security Council. We feel that the effectiveness, streamlining and transparency of peace-keeping operations and activities will be improved through the holding of briefings for Security Council members by representatives of the Secretary-General, through better coordination by the Secretariat in making and implementing decisions on peace-keeping activities through the adoption of measures to create an early-warning mechanism for situations that might threaten international peace and security, and through the elaboration of measures to strengthen the Organization's capacity to prepare for and carry out peace-keeping operations.

We welcome the Secretary-General's conclusion that the resources to implement preventive diplomacy and peace-keeping

> "are paltry by comparison with the huge cost in human suffering and material damage which war

> always brings or with the less huge, but nevertheless substantial, cost of deploying a peace-keeping operation after hostilities have broken out." (*A/49/1, para. 411*)

On the basis of this conclusion, the Secretary-General has attached priority to preventive diplomacy and peacemaking. This is fully in accord with the observations made by the Belarusian representatives on peace-keeping-operation issues. Over the long term we should try to focus exclusively on preventive diplomacy, establishing peace-keeping operations only in exceptional circumstances.

Belarus currently makes a rather modest contribution to United Nations activities on crisis management and conflict resolution: we have provided specialists for monitoring elections. However, we recognize that there is a shortage in military and other personnel for peace-keeping operations; this point was made by the Secretary-General when he visited Belarus in April of this year, and it is reflected in the report before us. We are taking measures to respond to this concern in concrete and positive terms. The issue of the participation of Belarusian military contingents in peace-keeping operations is currently under consideration by our legislative and executive authorities.

Our brief comments on chapter IV of the report testify to our support for United Nations activities in preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution. Nevertheless, the greater involvement of the United Nations in the resolution of a growing number of conflicts is creating a considerable overload in the financial and human resources of the Organization. Given the long-term financial crisis facing the United Nations, this overload may be a threat to the Organization. The time may come when the United Nations will simply not be able to meet its obligations, which will make it much more difficult to settle any conflicts and will also do serious damage to the Organization's credibility. Furthermore, the increase in the number of United Nations peace-keeping operations invariably leads to a substantial increase in the financial burden on the Members of the Organization, which may become too heavy for some to bear. This relates primarily to those countries whose contribution does not reflect their actual economic capacity. Alas, the Republic of Belarus is one such country.

Thus so we understand the concern of the Secretary-General over the difficult financial situation of the Organization. We understand that owing to the unpredictability and irregularity of contributions made by Member States, it is extremely difficult to manage the Organization efficiently. However, we can hardly agree to such measures as the charging of interest on late payments. This will not really help the United Nations to deal with its financial crisis; rather, it will simply lead to an increase in unpaid contributions of countries, particularly when financial debts to the United Nations are occasioned by the difficult economic situation of the Member concerned. Indebtedness and the resulting financial crisis for the United Nations constitute in themselves a kind of conflict, and as in the case of any other conflict we have to look at the underlying causes if we are going to resolve it. We believe that one of the main problems is the applying of outdated approaches to elaborating the scale of assessments for the regular budget and for peace-keeping operations, which does not reflect the fundamental principle of the ability of States to pay. We believe this is one of the major causes of the financial crisis.

The establishment of a sound legislative basis for the financial activities of the Organization would substantially contribute to the preparations for the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, and we welcome the report's chapter on the subject.

Finally, I should like once again to express our support for the United Nations in its new phase of activities aimed at achieving the goals of development in all its dimensions and, through this, at the elimination of the roots of conflict, the creation of a new system of international cooperation and the establishment of a solid foundation for a secure, just and creative era for the benefit of all mankind.

Mr. Lamamra (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the Algerian delegation, I should like to extend my warm congratulations to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for the substantive report he has submitted to the General Assembly. My delegation is pleased to be participating in a discussion on the report, the content of which is not confined to examining the Organization's work over the past year but contains proposals and ideas, sometimes innovative, calling for deeper reflection in the evaluation of their impact on the functioning and effectiveness of our Organization.

The particularly compact nature of the report reflects the vitality of the United Nations and the irreplaceability of its role and vocation as a centre for dialogue and cooperation among States. On the other hand, this makes a deep and painstaking analysis of this document somewhat laborious. Thus, I shall confine myself to making a few comments on those parts of the report which we feel to be crucial to our situation as a developing country resolved more than ever before to making the United Nations the vector of multilateral cooperation for development. In this spirit, Algeria fully endorses the comments and suggestions made this morning by the Permanent Representative of Indonesia, speaking on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement and its member States.

The Secretary-General's report is a valuable tool for evaluating the determination of the international community to give concrete expression to the decisions and recommendations it has laboured to negotiate and adopt. It thus constitutes a test of the credibility of the professions of faith so often proclaimed over the resolve of the Member States to make this Organization, as stipulated in Article 1 (4) of the Charter:

> "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends".

The United Nations is about to celebrate solemnly the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation. This event makes the Secretary-General's report of particular scope and significance this year. It is more than a mere yearly account of the Organization's work. Indeed, one cannot read this document without bearing in mind the original mission of the United Nations, its failures and successes, and its ability to respond to the aspirations of the people of the United Nations who chose to unite their efforts in order to build a more harmonious world of greater solidarity. This careful scrutiny of the United Nations activities and its incomplete achievements should not, however, make us lose sight of the unavoidable truth that the Member States are primarily responsible for its work, or make us forget that the difficulties and shortcomings are due in part to the increasingly frequent recourse made to the Organization, which is now being compelled to take action in many different fields and to confront increasingly complex crises, while at the same time facing an acute financial crisis.

This past year has been particularly heavy for the United Nations. Undeniable successes have been achieved and there have been significant breakthroughs in negotiations and in the discussion of certain questions. The reception of the new South Africa into the General Assembly was a brilliant political victory for our Organization, whose firm position on the principles adopted 20 years ago has thus been rewarded.

The restructuring of the United Nations has now entered a crucial stage. The adoption of resolution 48/264 on the revitalization of the work of the General Assembly, despite its imperfections, has enabled this truly democratic and universal body somewhat to re-establish its powers to coordinate and monitor all the activities of the United Nations.

The discussions on Security Council reform have highlighted the need for equitable representation accompanied by an in-depth reform of its methods of work and decision-making processes. Here, we would reiterate our belief in a reform of the Security Council that would ensure fair representation, transparency and democracy in its functioning, and greater effectiveness arising from a stronger confirmation of its legitimacy.

Increasing recourse to the International Court of Justice for the settlement of disputes is a healthy and positive trend bearing witness to a change of attitude in the subjects of international law concerning the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It also demonstrates the prevalence of a greater awareness of the virtues of building an international order based on law. Cooperation between the Court and the Security Council in connection with the successful settlement of the dispute on the Aouzou Strip illustrates the positive fallout for international peace and security whenever the potential of all United Nations bodies for the peaceful settlement of disputes is actually tapped.

The restructured Economic and Social Council held its first session this year. The substantive session was an enriching experience. However, the deplorable trend towards the marginalization and reduced participation of the developing countries, and Africa in particular, in that organ and its subsidiary bodies is for us grounds for legitimate concern.

Some of the Secretary-General's initiatives in restructuring the Secretariat with a view to enhancing its effectiveness and streamlining resource management are commendable and we support them. It is imperative, however, that those Secretariat departments dealing with economic and social issues take increasing account of the needs of developing countries and pay careful heed to their requests. We should also like to express our support for the Secretary-General's initiatives aimed at decentralizing the activities of the United Nations in the economic and social sectors, which would particularly benefit the regional economic commissions, whose great potential has yet to be fully exploited.

"An Agenda for Development", together with "An Agenda for Peace" should, in principle, offer an integrated institutional and operational framework for United Nations activities. In this connection, I reaffirm our commitment to an integrated approach to peace and development. In this respect, we share the Secretary-General's view on the need for:

> "thinking about the pursuit of development as a means of building foundations for enduring human progress". (*A/49/1, para. 5*)

Like the Secretary-General, we believe that the time has come to stop simply acting upon the consequences or reacting to actual emergencies; rather, we should undertake serious action that would establish the basis for sustainable development. The forthcoming World Summit on Social Development is, in this respect, an excellent opportunity which mankind must seize in order to elaborate an ambitious programme of action that will confront the challenges and significant problems of our times.

We must recognize that the progress made in setting out concepts and policies, and even in drafting institutional and legal instruments, has been somewhat curtailed by the chronic financial crisis resulting from late payments of contributions and a disturbing drop in resources earmarked for development.

The Algerian delegation fully shares in this respect the oft-stated concern of the Secretary-General, a concern that is clearly reflected in this year's report.

The late payment of contributions places our Organization in a precarious situation and greatly reduces its capacity for action. The first repercussions of this crisis can already be seen in the area of the maintenance of international peace and security. The dangerous consequences of reductions in, or withdrawals of, peace-keeping forces for financial reasons are well known: unless a political solution is found, collapse there could once again be appalling tragedies in countries such as Somalia and Rwanda. With more and more devastating and murderous conflicts breaking out, the international community and the Security Council in particular should shoulder their responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, while fully respecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of States.

Resources earmarked for operational activities related to development and humanitarian assistance are also dropping to dangerously low levels, thereby jeopardizing the financing of any new projects for the developing countries. This unfortunate trend could imperil whole sectors of multilateral economic cooperation for development. The current system of financing, based on voluntary contributions, has to be reconsidered with a view to guaranteeing the reliability and predictability of the resources and finances that can be mobilized.

On another level, there has been no significant progress this year towards the completion of the decolonization process, which is still one of the priority tasks facing our Organization. Many peoples and territories still under foreign domination are waiting for the United Nations to shoulder its responsibility under the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This is the case of the people of Western Sahara, who wish to exercise their right to self-determination through a fair, free and credible referendum carried out by the United Nations in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity. Nothing should keep the United Nations from fulfilling that mission.

In reading the report of the Secretary-General, we are not only further enlightened as to the problems and challenges facing us, but also become more aware of their scope. Fortunately, however, every year we find some grounds for satisfaction that strengthen our belief that the United Nations has a valid mission and a universal message.

We can only hope that next year's report, which will coincide with the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, will live up even more fully to our expectations and give us even more grounds for hope.

Mrs. Flores (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, my delegation wishes to thank the Secretary-General for the report (A/49/1) that he has submitted on the work of the Organization. Uruguay considers that discussion of this report in the General Assembly gives Member States an excellent opportunity to exchange views on the functioning of the Organization, to evaluate results and to lay down guidelines for future action.

A basic idea is set forth in the "Introduction" which, as we see it, underlies the entire development of the document - that is, to correct the mistaken impression that the United Nations is devoting its attention almost exclusively to the maintenance of peace. Through a description of the Organization's activities over the last

12 months, the report attempts to show that the Organization is playing a large role not only in the maintenance of peace but also in the economic and social fields.

My delegation, broadly speaking, shares the approach taken in the report. However, we feel that it would be interesting to go more deeply into some of the ideas that are set forth in the document. Along these lines, the global, integrated approach to the original purposes of the Organization - peace, justice, human rights and development - should be supported by the adoption of concrete measures that will ensure the appropriate fulfilment of those objectives.

Article 1, paragraph 1 of the Charter sets forth peace as the fundamental purpose of the Organization. The desire to strengthen the United Nations and make it more effective in the area of preventive diplomacy, peace-keeping and peace-building was at the origin of the "Agenda for Peace". In that document, fundamental questions were raised, such as those mentioned in paragraph 400 of the present report. Some of the problems mentioned there remain unresolved. We might mention, for example, the implementation of Article 50 of the Charter.

As regards the specific issues that are dealt with in the chapter of the report of the Secretary-General entitled "Preventive diplomacy and peacemaking", we wish to emphasize the establishment and good functioning of the Situation Centre. The work of the staff of this Centre has improved communications between the missions in the field, Headquarters and the troop-contributing countries. Uruguay, as a troop-contributing country, feels that the functions of the Centre are vital to ensure that the contributing countries receive the maximum amount of information. That is why we were surprised at the decision to suspend the distribution of the weekly report on the main events relating to missions in the field. This report was especially useful to the missions and provided a full understanding of events during the period under review.

We also wish to express our satisfaction at the arrangements to establish the nucleus of a Planning Unit. This will help in planning an operation during its initial stages and in coordinating its various elements in an integrated manner. The same could be said of the efforts made to strengthen the staff of the Office of the Military Adviser to the Secretary-General.

As for relations between the Secretariat and the Governments that provide contingents, my delegation regards as very positive the initiatives that were taken to increase the number of meetings between contributing countries and the relevant offices in the area of each mission. Without prejudice to these meetings, within the framework of the Security Council, we should note the proposal contained in document S/1994/1063 to make the participation of troop-contributing countries in consultations more flexible, especially when these relate to substantive issues of their respective mandates.

With the passage of time we see that peace and development are two closely related concepts. It has been said that peace is a key factor in the process of development and that international peace and security, in turn, will be truly guaranteed only if we eliminate the underlying causes of conflicts. Thus economic and social development is seen as one of the bases for the consolidation of international peace and security.

The international community wants to promote economic and social progress among all peoples. This desire was expressed by the General Assembly in its resolution 47/181 of 22 November 1992, which gave rise to the report "An Agenda for Development". Despite the undeniable importance of this subject, we still do not have firm proposals regarding the adoption of policies and measures that indicate a course of concrete and effective action.

The Organization is no longer a protagonist in dealing with macro-economic and financial problems. Its work must be a counterpart to the efforts of the developing countries to regain as far as possible the privileges established by the Charter in the area of economic development. A subsection of the report is devoted to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). My delegation notes the activities in this field that have occurred over the past year. These have enhanced the effectiveness of this Organization and its ability to operate.

When it was set up in 1964 the intention was that UNCTAD would play an important role in the sphere of economic cooperation. Although many of these matters are currently dealt with through the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund or, in the past, by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the fact is that UNCTAD is the only forum with a comprehensive overview of development and with the mandate and the jurisdiction to enable it to tackle a broad range of important items in the context of global interdependence.

This is why, in our judgement, UNCTAD must be revitalized even further; must recover its functions in the areas of coordination, analysis and negotiation of economic policies world wide; and must be strengthened as an instrument of technical assistance for developing countries.

Furthermore, my delegation believes that UNCTAD must act as a catalyst by creating a new international consensus and new types of cooperation between developed and developing countries. We might also point to administrative measures that are indispensable if UNCTAD is to be strengthened — including measures that relate to the appointment of the body's secretary-general.

In another area, the delegation of Uruguay supports the Secretary-General's initiative for the appointment of an adviser whose purpose would be to improve the coordination of operational activities in the field of development. This would include strengthening the system of resident coordinators. The adviser would introduce consistency in the area of policies and would improve coordination within the United Nations — especially coordination between the departments at Headquarters, the regional Commissions and the Funds and Programmes of the Organization.

Paragraph 194 of the report refers to the concentration of the work of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in six areas: the alleviation of poverty, management development, technical cooperation between the developing countries, environment and natural resource management, women in development, and technology for development. Uruguay suggests encouraging the designing of means for evaluating the concrete results achieved.

Paragraph 101 of the report deals with a point that gives rise to concern. I refer to the financial crisis that the Organization is going through. The Secretary-General has highlighted the serious cash flow situation in the Organization, especially in respect of peace-keeping missions. Cited once again as the main cause of the situation is that some Member States are still failing to comply with their obligation to pay their assessed contributions fully and on time. My delegation shares the view — a view that has been expressed already — that if all Member States paid the amounts they owed, this problem would be resolved.

On this point, my delegation understands that if contributions were assessed on the basis of a State's capacity to pay, the impact of the payment of the quota would be the same on all of the national economies. This subject should be discussed thoroughly with the widest possible participation. The debate on that subject in the Fifth Committee will undoubtedly be very useful.

Finally, my delegation would like to refer to several legal problems that are mentioned in the Secretary-General's report — the role of the International Court of Justice (ICJ); approval by the General Assembly of an agreement on the implementation of part XI of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, of 10 December 1982; and approval by the International Law Commission of the draft statute for a permanent international criminal court.

Currently there are 186 States parties to the Statute of the ICJ, and 58 States have declared their recognition of the binding jurisdiction of the Court under paragraphs 2 and 5 of Article 36 of the Statute. Uruguay was the first country to sign the optional clause accepting that jurisdiction. In 1921 we acceded to the Permanent Court of International Justice, and under paragraph 5 of Article 36 of the Statute of the ICJ this declaration remains in effect in respect of the International Court of Justice.

In the General Assembly just a few days ago my delegation followed very carefully the introduction by the President of the ICJ, Mr. Mohammed Bedjaoui, of the report on the Court. We share fully the views that the President of the Court expressed when he said that, although a renewed interest in the Court's jurisdiction had been evident in recent years, the fundamental question was not whether that body was extremely busy but, rather, whether it was fully occupying its rightful place in the system for the maintenance of peace, as instituted by the Charter.

Uruguay, as a maritime country, attaches great importance to the entry into force of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. My country was one of the sponsors of resolution 48/263, which contains the agreement on the implementation of Part XI. In this action we were guided by the desire to see respect for the unitary nature of the Convention of 1982 and by the desire to secure universal participation and support for the principles and norms set forth in the Convention.

My delegation is happy with the work that was done by the International Law Commission at its forty-sixth session. In particular, we welcome the conclusion of the draft statute for a permanent international criminal court. Although the tribunal that Uruguay favours would have binding and exclusive jurisdiction, we feel that this has been an important step in the area of the development of international law.

My delegation hopes that, with the advent of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of this Organization, the guiding force that led in 1918 to the founding of the League of Nations and in 1945 to the creation of the United Nations will now guide the international community as a whole and enable us to respond appropriately to the challenges that we shall face in the coming century.

Mr. Shah (Pakistan): My delegation would like to express its deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his report on the work of the Organization, contained in document A/49/1.

The views already expressed by the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, the Ambassador of Indonesia, and the Chairman of the Group of 77, the Ambassador of Algeria, enjoy the full support of the Pakistan delegation. The Secretary-General's comprehensive report truly manifests his outstanding qualities as an academic and the vision he shows in his activities aimed at resolving the many crises confronting the world. The report highlights the numerous achievements of the Organization as well as the challenges of the present which require an urgent and prompt response by this Assembly.

The Secretary-General's earlier report entitled "An Agenda for Development" and the report under consideration both reflect an incisive analysis of the multiple dimensions of development as well as of the unique potential of our Organization to forge a global consensus for multilateral action and an integrated approach encompassing all dimensions of the development challenge. My delegation fully subscribes to the linkages established in the report between peace, economic growth, environmental protection, healthy social conditions, democracy and development. It also agrees that the definition of security in today's world is no longer limited to questions of land and weapons but now includes economic well-being, environmental sustainability and the protection of human rights. As rightly pointed out by the Secretary-General, there is a direct relationship between international peace and security and development.

We agree with the Secretary-General that the World Summit for Social Development and the upcoming fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations present us with historic opportunities. These opportunities should be utilized to enhance global cooperation and create new ways to use the original aims of the Charter - justice, human rights and development - to establish a lasting foundation for international peace and security.

The Pakistan delegation is particularly grateful to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali for drawing the attention of the world community, in paragraphs 541 and 542 of his report, to the tensions and threat to peace arising from the problems in Jammu and Kashmir. We welcome his willingness to exert all possible efforts to facilitate the search for a lasting solution to one of the oldest unresolved conflicts, a conflict still on the United Nations agenda. Despite assurances and commitments made by the Indian leaders, the right to self-determination has been denied to the oppressed peoples of Jammu and Kashmir since 1947. The world has witnessed an unparalleled reign of terror, which has trampled the human rights of the civilians in that area. Forty-five thousand Kashmiris have been killed and thousands have been tortured or arbitrarily arrested.

The tensions generated by this dispute threaten both regional and international peace and security. My delegation considers it imperative that the international community intercede to promote a just and peaceful solution to the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. In this context, Pakistan has accepted the Secretary-General's offer of good offices to facilitate the solution of this dispute. We hope India will also accept the Secretary-General's offer.

Ms. Arystanbekova (Kazakhstan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Mr. Muthaura (Kenya): I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, on the in-depth report he has presented to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization over the last year. We pay tribute to the Secretary-General for the creative and far-sighted leadership he has continued to render to the Organization. Kenya assures him of its cooperation and support in his arduous task.

The Secretary-General has made a very able and thorough review of the operations the Organization has undertaken in the past 12 months, particularly those concerning the implementation of the resolutions of United Nations organs. He has also set out in detail his vision of the future challenges facing the Organization in the main areas of peace and security, sustainable development and social justice.

My delegation concurs with the Secretary-General's view that the success of the United Nations in carrying out its mission will continue to depend principally on the commitment of its Member States and of the general public to the Organization. With the end of the cold war, there is renewed support for the Organization and therefore the need to seize the opportunity to reinforce its moral authority in the pursuit of its noble objectives as inscribed in the Charter.

The United Nations, like any other Organization, cannot function effectively without a sound financial base. All of us, as Members of the Organization, have a responsibility to ensure that the assessed contributions are paid on time and that the budget of the Organization is consonant with the demands and the responsibilities that the general membership puts on it.

Kenya is appreciative of the stress that the Secretary-General is placing on the need to balance appropriations for peace and security and those allocated to social and economic development. It is of great interest to us that the Secretary-General has expressed particular concern regarding the need to strengthen the links between emergency assistance, rehabilitation and long-term development. We commend him for appointing the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme, Mr. James Speth, to assist in shouldering the overall responsibility of improving the coordination of operational activities for development. In that regard, the strategy to strengthen United Nations activities at the regional and national levels is most welcome.

As the United Nations reassesses itself for the forthcoming fiftieth anniversary of the Organization and maps out its strategy for the future, Kenya subscribes to the view that a bottom-up approach in regard to international peace and security, sustainable development and social justice is the most effective way forward. Capacity-building at the national and regional levels as it relates to governmental and non-governmental organizations, as well as general mobilization of the population in support of United Nations activities and the Organization's response to local, national and regional concerns, cannot be overemphasized.

May I now comment on a few specific aspects of the Secretary-General's report. We welcome the progress made so far regarding reform of the Organization with a view to improving the efficiency and administrative functioning of the Organization. Chapter II of the Secretary-General's report entitled "Coordinating a comprehensive strategy" highlights, *inter alia*, the increased responsibility of the Security Council in the light of the numerous challenges to international peace and security that it is called upon to address. With the demise of the cold war, the international community has now reposed greater confidence in the role of the Organization. In this regard reform of the Security Council has acquired crucial importance and urgency.

My delegation welcomes the decision already made by the Assembly to extend the mandate of the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council. My delegation looks forward to the conclusion of the work of the Working Group during this session. The extensive debate which has already taken place over the item has substantially highlighted the urgent need for the reform of the Council, not only to enhance its efficiency, transparency and working methods, but also to reflect a more realistic and equitable representation of the general membership of the Organization.

Of crucial importance is the need for the Council to reflect equitable geographical representation. My delegation has already expressed its views under agenda item 33 of the Assembly and looks forward to participate further in the work of the Group.

We welcome the arrangements that the Secretary-General has already put in place with a view to servicing the Council, including the appointment of a Special Adviser, at Under-Secretary-General level, to serve as his personal representative to the Council.

In chapter III of the report, the Secretary-General describes development, humanitarian action and human rights as the foundations of peace. Building on "An Agenda for Development" submitted by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly in June 1994, the Assembly has devoted several meetings to an in-depth discussion of the Agenda. Lively discussion of the Agenda also took place at the World Hearings on Development, convened by the President of the General Assembly last June, as well as at the Economic and Social Council session, also held in June 1994.

In this regard we welcome the proposal by the Secretary-General to strengthen the links between emergency assistance, rehabilitation and long-term development. The Secretary-General's decision to entrust the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) with overall responsibility for assisting him in improving coordination activities for development is particularly welcomed by our delegation. It is our strong conviction that the United Nations has an important role to play in matters of development. Whereas the donor community and the Bretton Woods institutions have an important role to play in this regard, the experiences of many developing countries, including my own, is that these organizations tend to impose — although not intended — policies that tend to have very adverse effects on vulnerable members of society. The structural adjustment programmes, though usually necessary, need to be accompanied by safety nets that can cushion the vulnerable groups from the adverse effects that usually accompany such programmes.

In this regard, we look forward to the major forthcoming world conferences where some of these issues will be discussed in detail. In particular, the World Summit for Social Development to be held in Copenhagen next year is expected to articulate a programme of action for the international community in this vital field. That Conference must contend with the reality that the social situation of people cannot be improved without, in general, improved economic conditions.

My delegation has noted with great concern, the observation in paragraph 188 of the report that there has been a considerable downturn in resources for operational activities of the Organization. In particular, the resource allocations to some of the organizations whose mandates are of critical importance to developing countries such as UNDP, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) have been going down. The Secretary-General's report clearly demonstrates the necessity to strengthen the capacity of these organizations to enable them to cope with their increased responsibilities, especially as envisaged in chapter 38 of Agenda 21. Paragraph 181 of the report specifically points out that despite the clear call by Agenda 21 for UNEP to be given greater expertise and additional resources, resource constraints are continuing to affect its activities in a number of programme areas such as energy, environmental health, atmosphere and environmental assessment.

We also note the observation that resources remain the most important challenge facing Habitat in preparing for the Habitat II Conference. UNDP has experienced a 15 per cent reduction in core resources, while UNICEF faced a serious reversal in contributions in 1993, bringing the level down by $150 million from the peak in 1992 of $688 million. UNFPA experienced a drop in contributions of $18.4 million in 1993 from $238 million in 1992.

This situation should not be allowed to continue. There is clear evidence that the Organization's resources continue to be directed towards peace-keeping and humanitarian budgets at the expense of development. We wish to reiterate what the Secretary-General has himself pointed out that development must be given priority as it is the foundation of peace.

With specific regard to UNEP, it is pointed out in the Secretary-General's report that UNEP provides the secretariats for the following five international conventions: the Convention on Biological Diversity; the Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and their Disposal; the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer to the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer; the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Flora and Fauna; and the Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals.

Furthermore, the programme continues to coordinate and support 13 regional sea programmes, nine of which are based upon regional conventions.

Thus UNEP has built considerable expertise in servicing the environmental conventions. The Rio de Janeiro Conference on Environment and Development also underscored the role of UNEP as the lead agency in the United Nations system on environmental issues. For these reasons, we are convinced that the permanent secretariats of the new environmental conventions should also be located with UNEP in Nairobi; these include biological diversity, climate change and desertification. This would indeed be consistent with the wish of the General Assembly and the decisions of the Governing Council of UNEP which have consistently called for the strengthening, harmonization, cost-effectiveness and enhancement of the efficiency of UNEP and indeed of other United Nations programmes.

With regard to section D of chapter III entitled "The humanitarian imperative", the Secretary-General has elaborated on the measures that he has put in place to strengthen coordination among the various actors in the humanitarian, political and peace-keeping activities of the United Nations.

We wish to emphasize that the United Nations needs to strengthen its capacity to respond to situations requiring preventive diplomacy so as to avoid catastrophes of the type we recently witnessed in Rwanda.

Mr. Butler (Australia): We wish to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his comprehensive and forward-looking report on the work of the organization (*A/49/1*).

The report demonstrates clearly the challenges and opportunities which now face the United Nations in an increasingly complex global environment. It also outlines the significant action which has been taken in many areas during the past year to strengthen the role and functioning of the Organization to respond effectively to those challenges and opportunities.

The Secretary-General emphasizes that the new international context and the multidimensional nature of the challenges call for multilateral action and an integrated approach, and we agree. Our shared objective must be one of cooperating for peace through strengthening cooperative security in all of its manifestations.

As the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Gareth Evans, stated three weeks ago during the general debate:

> "The distinction between peace and security on the one hand and development on the other has too often been a matter for sterile and unhelpful debate, with attempts to trade off one for the other as key goals for the United Nations. Any viable modern concept of international peace, let alone peace within States, must recognize that the two are indissolubly bound up with each other: there can be no sustainable peace without development, and no development without peace." (*Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 15th meeting, p. 8*)

For these reasons, Australia welcomes the Secretary-General's efforts in producing an Agenda for Development, following on, as it does, from "An Agenda for Peace". Among other important considerations, it recognizes the relationship between peace and development, acknowledging that equitable development eradicates many of the socio-political conditions in which threats to peace breed. And — this is very important — it places emphasis on individual human beings as the subjects and beneficiaries of our development efforts. It recognizes that economies should serve people.

We also applaud the focus the Secretary-General has placed on practical international cooperation for global human security, for example in the areas of emergency humanitarian assistance, effective governance and the key social issues which form the agenda of the World Summit on Social Development.

A more integrated effort will clearly be required — required of the United Nations system — if the objectives set out in the Agenda for Development are to be achieved. It is imperative that we improve the system's ability to develop and implement social and economic development programmes in a more coordinated and coherent manner, including finding ways to allow the Bretton Woods institutions and United Nations bodies to work in closer harmony. But more than this will be required, including changes in the senior decision-making structure of the United Nations Secretariat. Considerable reform in the intergovernmental elements of the United Nations system has been achieved and is being worked out, but the same is not true of the Secretariat itself. Notwithstanding some welcome recent changes — including, in particular, the appointment of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General for Operational Activities — Australia believes that there continues to be a strong case for creating a new working collegiate executive of four Deputy Secretaries-General to work with the Secretary-General responsible, respectively, for economic and social affairs, peace and security affairs, humanitarian affairs and administration and management.

One of the most crucial elements in any functioning system of cooperative security is an effective capacity for preventive diplomacy. We are therefore pleased to note that the Secretary-General's report contains an extensive chapter on expanding the role of the United Nations in preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution, in which, as the report records, considerable progress has been made in a number of areas since the publication of "An Agenda for Peace".

Australia is convinced that the United Nations can and should do more in this respect to prevent disputes from escalating into armed conflicts. This can be done in today's world; it must be done and there is abundant evidence that prevention is not only preferable but also less costly than cure. To give further impetus to this process we propose to introduce at the current session a draft resolution on enhancing preventive diplomacy. We believe that there is widespread support for the United Nations to build strong preventive diplomacy machinery — to develop the capacity, foreseen by its founders and articulated in Article 33 of the Charter, to operate as an active agent in the peaceful settlement of disputes.

The Organization would be able to operate more effectively in this area by giving its staff additional skills in dispute resolution and in conflict management. We commend its efforts to do so through the fellowship course of the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), and Australia will continue to provide backing for this training. We propose that the United Nations develop a dispute-resolution service within its Secretariat. We advocate strengthening the Department of Political Affairs and increasing coordination, information sharing and early warning capacity amongst and between the various elements of the United Nations system. Greater use should also be made of the resources of Member States and stronger linkages forged with regional security arrangements.

Such regional organizations and arrangements can themselves play a very useful role, but we must have realistic expectations of them because most cannot match the capacity of global bodies to marshal resources for peace-building or, at the other end of the scale, for military responses to crises. They nevertheless offer a way of bringing together the parties to disputes in a constructive and non-confrontational framework.

We welcome recent developments to strengthen regional approaches, in particular the recent inaugural meeting of the regional forum of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), with its evident willingness to develop preventive diplomacy in the Asia-Pacific region. We hope others will share our interest in exploring the scope for establishing regional peace and security resource centres to advance these objectives under the banner of regional organizations or the United Nations itself, or both.

The role which preventive diplomacy can play in contributing to cooperative security is vital. Earlier this week, for example, the General Assembly adopted a resolution which addressed the situation in the Central African Republic of Burundi, a country which is proving to be a test case for international efforts at preventive diplomacy. It was not until the tragic events in Rwanda earlier this year that the international community's attention was drawn properly to the situation in Burundi. Given the historical links between the two countries and their similar internal tensions, it was only natural that Burundi was seen as vulnerable to the same tragic events that had gripped Rwanda. Although the situation in Burundi remains fragile, peace does prevail there, and this is partly owing to the preventive steps taken by the international community, which have helped allow Burundi to avoid following in Rwanda's path.

Through consultations between the political parties, carried out in a spirit of reconciliation, a new President has been invested in Burundi and a new Government has been formed. The efforts of the international community at preventive action in Burundi have been encouraging, but they need to be sustained. As the Secretary-General noted in a recent report on Burundi,

> "Compared with the exorbitant amounts that would have been needed for emergency assistance if the Rwandese tragedy were repeated in Burundi, the price to be paid for prevention today seems minimal". (*S/1994/1152, para. 47*)

The Secretary-General observes in his report that the fiftieth anniversary year, which I might mention began at midnight four days ago,

> "represents an exhilarating challenge and an invaluable opportunity to forge a global consensus behind development, in all of its dimensions, as the most lasting foundation for international peace and security and as the greatest hope for all humanity". (*para. 12*)

We Australians fully endorse this view. We also believe that an integral part of the new approach the United Nations must take to meet this challenge is to give greater emphasis to the role that preventive diplomacy, in all of its manifestations, can play. We can do more to strengthen the contribution that preventive diplomacy can make to international peace and security, and we can do this at this session of the General Assembly. It is an opportunity that we should seize.

Mr. Remirez de Estenoz Barciela (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The discussion under item 10 of the agenda is probably one of the most important of this session. Its importance lies precisely in the fact that, as we approach the commemoration of the first half-century of this Organization, the debate grows stronger on what the Organization should be in the future, what its powers and aims should be and how it should act to face the enormous challenges confronting mankind during the final years of the millennium.

My delegation has examined the Secretary-General's report with great care, and we agree in essence with the statement made by the Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, which contains many of the doubts and concerns that Cuba shares.

It is impossible to include in a single statement the wide-ranging ideas contained in the Secretary-General's report. Therefore we will confine ourselves to a number of necessary reflections and to commenting on concepts that we consider erroneous, while the Cuban delegation will continue to comment on the elements contained in this report both in plenary meetings and in the Main Committees of this forty-ninth session.

It is gratifying to find in the Introduction of this document a number of ideas that in our opinion should make up the essence of the work of the United Nations at this stage of its history. We consider that the emphasis upon the issue of development is crucial, and in this context we find it appropriate that the Secretary-General is determined

> "to correct the common misperception of the United Nations as an Organization dedicated primarily to peace-keeping". (*para. 1*)

But this Organization itself is probably to blame for that misperception. In the euphoria of these few last years it may have forgotten the multidisciplinary nature of its role and may have concentrated excessively on peace-keeping and related activities. We have observed with concern on many occasions how most of the resources at the disposal of the international community for multilateral activities have been devoted to peace-keeping while ignoring other fields, such as economic and social development, which should constitute areas of priority attention.

It likewise does not seem appropriate that, as stated in the report, the international community is obligated to redefine the concept of development. This Organization is not new, nor are the economic and social problems that affect a large part of mankind. For decades this Organization has adopted hundreds of documents that clearly define, in one way or another, what development is and what role this Organization should play in the efforts to extend the benefits of progress to all and to create just and equitable international economic relations in the world.

We do not have to prepare new definitions of development, nor do we have to adopt new agendas that ignore the achievements of decades and, moveover, contain concepts that are frequently not acceptable to all States, in particular those that would most benefit from development. We must be capable of creating conditions for the emergence of a true political willingness to promote development on a world-wide scale and to recognize as the main role of the United Nations the management of international cooperation to that end, as the report itself states.

Thus, even if we agree that various elements in today's world are closely related, we must not ignore the fact that development occupies the highest place. There can be no peace without development, as the Secretary-General himself has recognized on more than one occasion; without development there can be no guarantee of stopping the deterioration of the environment; without development true social justice cannot be promoted; and there can be no true democracy, either within or between States, without an accelerated advance towards economic and social development.

We are surprised that the philosophical foundations of the report do not give due attention to the principles enshrined in the Charter — which is the cornerstone of the work of this Organization — or to the manner in which they will be applied in the future. We find it also surprising that the report does not refer in a precise manner to the main objective of the United Nations: to promote international cooperation in a wide range of fields. We think that these issues cannot be disregarded and that the Member States should rectify this regrettable omission, especially in periods that are tending to clear the ground for such equivocal concepts as that of "limited sovereignty", when interference in the internal affairs of States is increasingly practised and when attempts are frequently made to replace cooperation with coercion.

The Chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries clearly recalled the positions of the Movement regarding some of the most important issues concerning the ongoing restructuring of this Organization. Nevertheless, I would like to place on record that the description of the various principal organs contained in the Secretary-General's report is also illustrative in this regard. For example, figure 4, which appears on page 5 of the report, contrasts the increase in informal consultations of the whole of the Security Council with the increase in the Council's formal meetings. This clearly shows why the work of the Security Council requires a greater transparency.

Similarly, reference is made throughout the report to the restructuring of the Secretariat, and we believe that the legislative mandates of the organs of the United Nations have not been adequately respected in all cases. We must not forget, in this context, that the priorities of this Organization can only be determined by its Member States. We hope that this rule will not continue to be ignored in the future.

By the same token, the Secretariat is also autonomously carrying out other activities which, in practice, tend to create conditions for the introduction of changes that the majority of Member States do not want. For example, in paragraph 383 of the report, there is a reference to discussions between the Centre for Human Rights and the Department of Peace-keeping Operations on ways and means of securing the further support of the Centre in peace-keeping operations. We should be wary of the precedent that activities of this nature can create.

We must also be careful about current concepts linked to this trend. Among them is so-called "humanitarian preventive action", which, though it may appear commendable, contains a great potential for interventionism that must be avoided.

We are also concerned by the imbalance in the report between the various activities to be carried out by the Organization. Only a small portion of the report is truly devoted to development and yet, despite this, elements regarding humanitarian assistance and human rights are added to it. On the other hand, and in contrast, practically the entire text is permeated one way or another with the concept of preventive diplomacy. It would seem as if, rather than a report on the work of the United Nations for the year, we were examining a second edition of the document "An Agenda for Peace".

In the statement I had the honour to make last year on this item, I referred to our concern regarding the subordination of third world development to the implementation of new concepts allegedly addressing the maintenance of international peace and security. We also expressed our concern about the change in priorities represented by the loss of the necessary balance between peace-keeping and the obligations of the United Nations in the field of international cooperation for development.

The approach prevailing in this year's report has also inverted the priorities of the Organization, a phenomenon which seems to be on its way to becoming a rule. Does the Secretariat not consider it worth while to promote the renewal of a serious and meaningful North-South dialogue? Does the Secretariat, which feels empowered to devote priority attention to preventive diplomacy and peacemaking, not feel equally empowered to offer its good offices for the establishment of a more just and equitable international economic order? Is not the achievement of development the best means for the effective prevention of conflicts?

We agree with the aim of trying to avoid human tragedies brought about by armed conflict, but underdevelopment, poverty, malnutrition and lack of access to adequate health care are more costly today in terms of human lives than all the wars being waged on our planet. Is the proportion of three-to-one between the resources being devoted to peace-keeping and related activities and those devoted to development appropriate? Obviously, priorities are being inverted and even the most cursory glance through the report shows this to be so.

This equation inevitably prompts us to address an issue that has been receiving much attention lately. We are referring to the Organization's so-called "financial crisis". We have our doubts that this is the appropriate term for this situation. It would seem that what we actually have is a "cash-flow crisis". It has not been demonstrated that the financial structures of the Organization and their operating mechanisms, such as the different scales of assessments, are in crisis. If we compare the figures of the Organization's debts, provided by the Secretariat itself, against the figure of monies owed to the Organization, the assertion I made earlier would seem to be confirmed. Thus we see no need to carry out the radical changes proposed to satisfy a few big Powers nor to go against the established procedures for the discussion of budgetary issues by setting aside the Fifth Committee of this General Assembly.

On the other hand, we cannot lose sight of the fact that the large expenses incurred in the past few years have come through peace-keeping operations. We should first determine whether those expenses have really been justified, whether they have responded to the interests of the Organization as a whole, and whether they are in line with the priorities accepted by the majority of Member States. Then, and only then, should we review the financial procedures of this Organization.

Lastly, I should like to refer to issues related to peace-keeping. It continues to amaze us that nowhere in the report is there mentioned the principles that should govern these operations and their related activities — essentially, the consent of the parties involved in a conflict, as a necessary precondition to the establishment of a peace-keeping operation. We are concerned by the growing practice of having the Security Council "license" certain States or groups of States to resolve specific situations, which also seems to be legitimized by the report, as is the tendency to encourage the United Nations through peace-keeping operations or other related activities to interfere in issues that fall exclusively within the internal jurisdiction of States. Further comment on the unpredictable consequences of these actions is unnecessary.

We have made a few comments on the Secretary-General's report for this year and, above all, on its underlying philosophy. We continue to disagree with the Secretary-General on a number of issues and concepts, but we agree with him on many others. As always, we are ready to show flexibility and to try to find, through dialogue and negotiation among Member States, common views that will allow the United Nations to meet the second half of its first century of existence with a truly human face and with priorities that truly respond to the interests of mankind as a whole, and not just a part of it.

Mr. Pashovski (Bulgaria): Our deliberations at this session of the General Assembly are being held at an important time in the life of the United Nations, since we are on the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the Organization. It is therefore our duty to cast a glance backwards at past successes and problems and to take stock of them. In doing so, it is all the more necessary to keep our minds focused on the future and on the need to adapt the Organization to present-day challenges and those yet to come.

The past year has marked further progress in the process of restructuring the social and economic sector of the Organization and in efforts to strengthen its role and effectiveness in the area of international cooperation for development. The evolving perception that peace, economic growth, the environment, social justice and democracy are interlocking and mutually reinforcing has been widely recognized. The need for a comprehensive innovative approach to development has gained wide support. In this context, particular importance should be attached to the further discussions on the report of the Secretary-General on "An Agenda for Development". We share the view that "An Agenda for Development" should be aimed at making the United Nations more responsive to new development realities. Identifying ways and means of harmonizing and coordinating the interrelationships between peace and development and the manner they are dealt with deserves adequate attention.

Efforts to restructure and revitalize the activities of the United Nations, bearing in mind the requirements mentioned earlier, should be continued. Since its creation the United Nations has evolved as a unique international body in which all pressing issues, across the political, economic and social spectrum can be approached in an integrated manner. It has increased responsibilities and plays a greater role today; the cold war and bipolar confrontation have come to an end, but the international community faces new challenges and threats.

We are confident that the restructuring of the United Nations economic and social sectors will ensure a better balance in the activities of the Organization and will make it more responsive to and more effective in dealing with the interrelated problems of development. In this context, it is our strong belief that the United Nations will continue to give due attention to the problems of the countries in transition. The reinforcement of the United Nations system for operational activities and a more active cooperation between the United Nations and the Bretton Woods institutions are important elements in this process.

Along with increased attention to and concern for the socio-economic dimension of security, the trend towards expanding the involvement of the United Nations in preventive diplomacy and crisis management that we have witnessed in recent years should be further upheld and promoted. Bulgaria has traditionally acknowledged and supported making better use of the instruments for the prevention of conflicts and crises, and we welcome the substantive progress made in that area.

Another major component of the Organization's conflict- resolution efforts is the growing involvement of the United Nations in peace-keeping throughout the world. We welcome the efforts to enhance its peace-keeping capacity in a changing world. As peace-keeping operations become more complex, dangerous and expensive, special attention should be given to such pressing issues as enhancing the Organization's institutional framework in the area of peace-keeping, the search for ways and means to solve the financial problems related to peace-keeping operations, and the imperative need to ensure a greater level of safety and security for peace-keeping personnel.

Significant progress has been made in these areas. We support the development of the system of "stand-by arrangements", and have already committed national resources for use in United Nations peace-keeping operations. We are actively contributing to the work on an international convention dealing with safety and security of United Nations and associated personnel. We share the growing concern over existing problems in the financial aspects of peace-keeping. Therefore, we join those who call for redoubling the efforts to seek answers to those questions.

On the topic of the comprehensive array of preventive and enforcement measures to solve conflicts, let me recall that Bulgaria attaches extreme importance to the issues related to devising an overall mechanism for the implementation of Article 50 of the Charter of the United Nations. We are in favour of devising such a mechanism, which would guarantee the equitable sharing of the economic burden by the whole international community.

The cooperation of the United Nations with regional organizations is an essential element of the evolving new international system of security and stability. Bulgaria was among the initiators of the process of cooperation and coordination between the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and consistently supports its promotion. It is also our desire to see a closer link between the United Nations and the Council of Europe. We think that stronger interaction between the two organizations is possible, especially in the area of human rights issues and in the efforts towards conflict prevention, post-conflict peace-building and the consolidation of democratic institutions. A good starting point in this regard is the existing framework of tripartite meetings between the Council of Europe, the CSCE and the United Nations.

In conclusion, I should like to underscore the significance my country attaches to the overall process of reforming and adapting the Organization to the new challenges of our time, and to reaffirm our dedication and commitment to this process.

Mr. Vilchez (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Nicaragua, as a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and the Group of 77, fully supports the statements made by the Permanent Representatives of Indonesia and Algeria on this subject. Nevertheless, we would like to state Nicaragua's position on such an important document as the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, for which we would like to express our special gratitude.

In 1995 the United Nations will turn 50. Our Organization, created in San Francisco to save humankind "from the scourge of war", will then have the opportunity to undertake a thorough study of the achievements and errors made during that historic period, so full of hope, which saw the rebirth of the great ideal of democracy.

The 1980s in particular bore clear witness to a monumental change of a historical, political and social nature. Our United Nations has today become a beacon signalling a safe haven from upheavals caused by conflicts of all kinds. The hopes of all humankind are today placed in our Organization.

In his recently published report on the work of the Organization the Secretary-General states:

> "During the period covered by this, my third annual report, I have sought to correct the common misperception of the United Nations as an organization dedicated primarily to peace-keeping. Economic and social questions have long occupied the major part of United Nations efforts. Such work has become all the more important today precisely as conflicts are increasingly recognized to have economic and social origins." *(A/49/1, para. 1)*.

In this context, we consider that our Organization must devote itself with renewed vigour to the struggle against inequity and injustice. The United Nations must not only be the bearer of hope, but must fulfil its commitments in the economic and social areas, working hard to achieve at least a minimal improvement in the living conditions of humankind. The Organization must meet this historic challenge, updating its methods, making better use of the experience it has accumulated and trying to optimize the availability of resources, which are inadequate to carry out at the same time three essential tasks: the maintenance of international peace and security, economic and social development and the protection of the environment for future generations.

It is a matter of concern that even as the United Nations has increased its responsibilities, especially as regards peace-keeping operations, it is left defenceless in a deep and almost permanent financial crisis. The international community must give financing top priority, but it must be complemented by rational management of existing resources, and the General Assembly must be able to assess the effectiveness of the measures taken by the Secretary-General in establishing a more direct structure of responsibility of States. We also welcome the creation of the Office of Internal Oversight Services, headed by an Under-Secretary-General.

The multidimensional character of the United Nations is reflected in the increasing responsibilities of its organs and specialized agencies. The General Assembly is playing a more valuable role in international relations, so it is important that the role of its President be strengthened. One of the most important tasks facing us this session is the restructuring of the United Nations. Hence, the approach to reform and restructuring must be comprehensive and balanced. We must promote a more balanced relationship between the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretary-General, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

General Assembly sessions have seen an increase in the number of agenda items. We welcome the growing tendency to adopt draft resolutions by consensus and the increasing participation of Heads of State and Government in the General Assembly's general debates. We must also highlight the importance of the General Assembly's establishment of an open-ended working group to deal with the question of equitable representation on and an increase in the membership of the Security Council.

We are particularly happy to see that all matters relating to human rights are appropriately reflected in the Secretary-General's report. The report contains pertinent references to the various activities of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, who is now charged with the promotion and protection of all civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights. Our delegation is pleased with the manner in which Ambassador José Ayala Lasso is carrying out his mandate.

As the Secretary-General says, the High Commissioner has principal responsibility for human rights activities within the United Nations. My delegation considers it appropriate that, as part of the process of restructuring to increase the effectiveness of our efforts in the field of human rights, we should try to coordinate the tasks of all the competent bodies and allocate the necessary financial resources for this important work.

The steady increase in the work of the Security Council has aroused great interest among States Members of the Organization. We agree with the point made by many delegations that there must be greater transparency in the Security Council's methods of work. There is almost universal interest and support for considering the question of increasing the membership of the Council with a view to bringing its work into line with current international realities.

We are therefore satisfied with the Council's decision to set up a working group to study the question of how its methods of work could be improved with a view to achieving, among other things, greater transparency. In this context, we should like to refer to the report (A/49/2) presented by the Council to the General Assembly. In spite of its very large size, this does not seem to be a document of substance. The report should be analytical rather than descriptive. It should deal with all the questions discussed by the Security Council and should contain a detailed evaluation of the work of the Council's special committees.

In 1992 the General Assembly welcomed the Secretary-General's report entitled "An Agenda for Peace", and in September 1993 the Assembly adopted a second resolution on this subject. The Security Council has held a number of meetings to deal with specific proposals on "An Agenda for Peace". The Agenda has led to many concrete reforms in the United Nations system through the adoption of tangible measures. We applaud the adoption of these measures recommended by the Secretary-General.

We endorse, albeit with some concern, what has been achieved through preventive diplomacy and initiatives in the field of peace-keeping operations as well as instruments for the maintenance of international peace and security. These operations, so long as they are carried out appropriately, can be very beneficial. The sums required are minimal by comparison with the inevitable enormous cost, in terms of human suffering and material damage, of war and continued conflict. We congratulate the Secretary-General on giving priority to preventive diplomacy, and we hope that this will be further strengthened as an effective instrument of collective security.

We are very interested in the report entitled "An Agenda for Development" which the Secretary-General presented to the General Assembly on 4 May 1994. This report has given rise to a stimulating and lively debate. During the Economic and Social Council's discussions on the subject, Governments indicated their desire to enhance the effectiveness of the development activities of the United Nations and to strengthen practical cooperation in these activities. We believe that greater consistency must be achieved in the criteria governing development activities. This task cannot be postponed. All Member States must categorically promote the adoption of an action-oriented agenda that defines strategies, parameters and the means of achieving reform of the current international economic system and of fulfilling many of the aspirations of the developing world.

We are particularly concerned over the fact that the question of foreign debt — a principal source of instability in the developing world — is not reflected adequately in the Secretary-General's report. Nicaragua, as a country with a high indebtedness, attributes great importance to this subject. We believe that the United Nations should play a greater role in the search for viable solutions to the whole problem. An agenda for development, to be feasible, must take into account the impact of external debt on the economies of the developing countries, especially the least developed of them.

As regards the restructuring of the United Nations development system, we are confident that the appointment of an Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme to help the Secretary-General improve the coordination of operational activities for development — activities such as strengthening the role of the resident coordinator and improving the consistency of policies in the United Nations system — will yield good results.

I should like now to refer to a matter of major importance to my delegation. My country, Nicaragua, is a new democracy. The country and its people have recent experience of a terrible internal conflict that devastated the land for more than a decade. This experience has taught us to believe in coexistence and in the merits of democracy.

In this context, we are particularly concerned that the Secretary-General's report — specifically the part dealing with the "Agenda for Peace" — does not adequately address all the initiatives the United Nations system has taken and all the support it has given to many countries of the international community with a view to consolidating peace and strengthening democracy and its institutions.

The strengthening of democracy is a vital component of preventive diplomacy and of economic and social development. The United Nations must feel proud of the success of its efforts to consolidate democracy in various parts of the world — among them, my country.

We consider that the Organization's work in support of democracy and peace must be strengthened and that it merits close attention. Here we should like to refer to the support of the United Nations for the holding of the Second International Conference of New or Restored Democracies, which took place in Managua, Nicaragua, last July and was attended by 77 countries as participants or observers. This would not have been possible without the support of the United Nations system. In the Plan of Action that the Conference adopted it was agreed that the Secretary-General should be asked to prepare a study on how the United Nations system could promote the consolidation of new or restored democracies. In the coming days we shall be submitting a draft resolution on this subject.

In conclusion, we should like to commend the Secretary-General for his broad vision — the product of his great experience as a diplomat and statesman. We agree with the comment in his report that this difficult period for mankind provides us with a great opportunity to bring together, in a coherent and unified fashion, the original aims of the world Organization. This comprehensive vision would enable the United Nations to enhance its operational effectiveness in dealing with the multidimensional questions related to an integrated approach and renewed multilateral action.

As it completes 50 years, the United Nations must recognize that, in large part, the attitudes and experiences of the past are no longer relevant. The new political situation and the economic challenges that we face on the threshold of the twenty-first century require major decisions on the part of the international community as a whole. The time has come to cast off the shackles of the past and to face together the challenges of world-wide and economic social reconstruction.

Mr. Mwaungulu (Malawi), Vice-President, took the Chair.

Mr. Yoo (Republic of Korea): The delegation of the Republic of Korea welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization. At the outset, I would like to express my deep appreciation to the Secretary-General and his staff for producing an important and useful document. Today, the United Nations is deeply involved in a wide range of issues which have a far-reaching impact on our lives and the environment. It is for this reason that my delegation values the comprehensive yet concise overview of the whole range of activities of the world body over the past 12 months.

Rather than trying to touch upon the multiplicity of issues, activities and actors covered in the report, I will make general observations on such key areas as development, humanitarian assistance, peace-keeping operations and the financial situation of the Organization.

Despite the considerable achievements in development during the last 50 years, developing countries are continuously confronted with daunting challenges, such as poverty, disease, unemployment inadequate education and environmental degradation.

If the international community is to surmount these challenges, it must continue to focus on development as a top priority of the global agenda. As development is one of the most effective means of preventive diplomacy, development and peace naturally go hand in hand.

My delegation is pleased to see that the United Nations has progressively attached more importance to the issue of development. The Secretary-General's report entitled "An Agenda for Development" is a most timely and important document. We feel that in order to serve as a strong complement to "An Agenda for Peace" the report could be enhanced with further feasible and action-oriented recommendations.

Although individual countries must bear the primary responsibility for development, national efforts must be buttressed by international cooperation. The United Nations is the most appropriate and capable forum to deal with this vital issue, particularly in formulating a comprehensive approach for development through its capacity to accumulate experience, expertise and human resources in this field. At the same time, the reform and restructuring of the United Nations should be continued and further strengthened to meet new and complex responsibilities. In this regard, coordination among development-related agencies is essential. My delegation welcomes the Secretary-General's decision to assign new responsibility to the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme to assist him in enhancing policy coherence with the United Nations and overall coordination of operational activities for development. Given the broad-based and comprehensive concept of development, the United Nations must reinforce its role in this area by adopting a new approach which will effectively respond to the challenging needs of developing countries.

During the past 12 months, the international community has witnessed a number of massive humanitarian crises world wide. Particularly shocking is the genocide committed in flagrant violation of the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. Faced with unprecedented humanitarian disasters caused by armed ethnic and civil conflicts and natural disasters, the relevant organs of the United Nations, particularly the Department of Humanitarian Assistance, have played an instrumental role in arranging and coordinating humanitarian assistance to victims. However, the report alerts us to the disturbing fact that over 30 million people in 29 countries are still plagued by humanitarian emergencies. Given the magnitude of the situation, strengthened coordination among the various actors in the humanitarian field, as well as among the humanitarian, political and peace-keeping activities of the United Nations, should be strongly encouraged. My delegation urges the international community to reinforce its assistance to the affected populations, while the United Nations, through the Department of Humanitarian Affairs and the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC), continues to endeavour to enhance its ability to respond quickly and in a coherent manner.

With humanitarian relief operations frequently being carried out in the midst of violent conflict, another major challenge lies in securing adequate protection for humanitarian personnel. In this regard, principles and operational guidelines for relief programmes in conditions of conflict, which are being worked out under the auspices of the IASC, should be elaborated as quickly as possible.

Peace-keeping operations are also being conducted in more challenging settings. As operations have increased not only in peril but also in cost, it has become difficult to find sufficient troops and support personnel to cope with the most arduous tasks, while emergency conflict situations demand rapid deployment of military and civilian personnel. Moreover, the persistent United Nations financial crisis, due to the failure of Member States to pay their assessments on time, has delayed troop-contributor reimbursement.

In light of the difficult conditions surrounding peace-keeping operations these days, more efforts should be made to effectively employ preventive diplomacy. If prevention has failed, the decision of the United Nations to get involved in actual conflicts should be made with discretion and prioritization. Greater focus should be given to address the modality of intervention and the means of securing necessary resources.

Finally, my delegation believes that ensuring an adequate financial base is a central prerequisite for any United Nations activity. The report shows that, as in previous years, the financial situation of the Organization has not seen any improvement over the past year. The fact that the chronic state of financial crisis has always been at the core of debates at the United Nations reflects the complexity of this problem. My delegation agrees with the Secretary-General's observation that the unpredictability and irregularity of contributions from Member States make it extremely difficult to manage the Organization effectively.

As one of the Member States which appreciates the necessity of consistent and faithful payment of assessed contributions, the Republic of Korea shares the concern expressed by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly regarding the gravity of the financial situation of the United Nations. My Government will carefully study the ideas of the Secretary-General for extricating the Organization from its financial predicament and make further comments on them at the appropriate time.

Mr. Yassin (Sudan): The Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization, contained in document A/49/1 of 2 September 1994, is a valued and painstaking human endeavour to make this world a better place to live in. One can say with confidence that the report reflects the Secretary-General's eagerness to translate the hopes and aspirations of the international community, to move beyond the mistakes and hesitation of the past, even the near past, and set the ongoing human march in the right direction, towards realizing the respect and dignity of every individual human being. As the task is no doubt difficult and cumbersome, the report ascends into heights of considerable achievements, then descends towards unaccomplished endeavours and finally lands on thorny grounds of bitter failures due to lack of either necessary funds and reporting or the necessary political will of some Member States.

It is thus a true reflection of our diverse tendencies. It is therefore evident that the Secretary-General in person, and the Organization in general, require a true environment of cooperation and goodwill, with an absence of self-centred attitudes on the part of those who must be guided by impartiality.

The report dwells on a multitude of United Nations activities which are hard to cover in this limited statement. But on the whole we can safely say that its main thrust is the broader concept of the human aspect, a natural by-product of the preoccupations of the Secretary-General himself, already truly reflected in his "Agenda for Peace" and also in his intended "Agenda for Development". We commend the Secretary-General for his efforts. Success or failure, good or poor delivery, is attributable to the performance of those who are directly responsible for participating, evaluating and even adjudicating without malice or bad faith.

We cannot but agree with the report that peace and security are organically linked to development. But, as the report truly reflects, what we have so far witnessed in developmental activities and collective thinking is not enough. The attainment of genuine peace and security essentially means uprooting the lingering causes of conflicts. Long-term development in its wider meaning is the answer and the remedy. But, just as we concur with the report that peace, a good economy, the environment, and societies and good governance intermarry to produce development, and just as we equally concur that peace, justice, human rights and development are necessary prerequisites for the advancement and welfare of nations, it is equally important to ascertain their universality in application and practice. Certain States cannot simply impose their own interpretations and applications of these lofty concepts on others indiscriminately. Different nations adopt different applications, which are also sound and just. The commitment remains the same however.

It is against this background that we view the efforts of the Organization to realize and cement peace and security world wide. The strategic preoccupations of big nations, whether military, economic or political, should not devour the interests or aspirations of smaller nations. Democratic norms can never be applied ready-made. Each nation has the right to apply the form of democracy most suitable to satisfying the political, social and religious inclinations of its own citizens. The objective is the real contribution of citizens in self-rule, good governance and full accountability to the people.

Allow me to go into somewhat greater detail.

Sudan fully supports the continuing process of streamlining the structures and work of all United

Nations bodies. But what we aspire to is perfection with the least expense, achievements without overlooking important areas or issues.

The role of the General Assembly in the maintenance of international peace and security should be strengthened in order to achieve equity with the Security Council.

As for the enlargement of the Security Council and how it should function, we support the input of the non-aligned countries in this respect. In broad terms, we believe that membership of the Security Council, permanent or non-permanent, is a responsibility by proxy and not a privilege and that the Council represents a sensitive scale that must be balanced and not unbalanced, a platform on which to spell out the real attitudes and convictions of the whole international community and not a sanctuary for those who want to govern the world. In this context we feel that it is of special importance that the group entrusted with the task of looking to improve the work of the Council should broaden its contacts to include regional organizations, whose role in maintaining regional peace and security is still marginalized. We are particularly worried that the Council is increasingly tilting towards inconsistency and clandestine methods of work.

There must, we believe, be strict guiding principles for peace-keeping operations. The non-aligned have offered a handsome contribution in this respect.

As for regional conflicts, we continue to emphasize the fact that sustained economic growth and equitable functioning of the world economy are the most appropriate approaches. This can clearly be seen in the case of developing countries.

The experience involved in the creation of the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights is an evolving one. The report gives considerable space to this. But, as this experience is still under way, we continue to support the ideas presented by the non-aligned with a view to consolidating the High Commissioner's mandate. But on the whole we do not concur with the continuing inclination to use the pretext of the protection of human rights as a political excuse to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign States. Respect for human rights should be universal; and human rights should be strictly observed by all States.

In the Secretary-General's report the situation in the Sudan is described as follows:

> "The Sudan remains one of the most enduring and serious humanitarian crises in the world." (*A/49/1, para. 355*)

We consider this statement to be highly generalized, not really factual, rather inflammatory and motivated by the idea of exerting pressure on Sudan. The Arabic translation gives the statement a more strident tone and shows a subjective approach. The figures quoted concerning the number who have died because of the hostilities or the number who were displaced are far from true. The total is stated to be 6 million. The truth is that the entire population of the southern Sudan in time of peace does not reach that figure. The truth also is that about 3 million inhabitants of the south have moved northwards seeking protection from the inhuman treatment and banditry of all the rebel factions. We would have preferred truthfulness, accuracy and professionalism in this type of description.

The report also speaks of cases of the Government's non-cooperation with some non-governmental organizations which has allegedly contributed to obstructing the delivery of emergency aid to those in need. The truth is that the Government has established a large commission to facilitate the work of non-governmental organizations in Sudan. It has successfully concluded an agreement encompassing every non-governmental organization operating in the country. It also consented to their request to choose five of their number as coordinators with governmental authorities. I should like to confirm from this rostrum that the large majority of these organizations are operating in all tranquillity with all the Sudanese authorities concerned. Some, however, tend to exceed their mandate and meddle in the internal affairs of the country. Sudan is not the only example; similar examples can be cited from various parts of the world. The sense of mission should not overlap the humanitarian outlook of these organizations. Public opinion in their own constituencies at home should not blind them to the truth as they see it in reality, on the ground. In this respect, Sudan accepts the testimony of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and other non-governmental organizations.

I find it my duty to inform this body, as my Minister did earlier, that the Government of Sudan has made extensive strides in its untiring search for a peaceful settlement of this conflict, inflamed by external interference. Our efforts, however, will continue to be in vain if we are not left alone to settle our differences. As the Sudan Government has, in good faith, signed three Sudan Lifeline operations agreements, it is time for the world to condemn the rebel movements that are obstructing, looting and confiscating food and medicine aid. The United Nations authorities have adequately proved this. My delegation will take up this matter again at a later stage, during the consideration of this item in the appropriate Committee.

Mr. Henze (Germany): First of all I should like to join others in thanking the Secretary-General and his staff for the comprehensive report on the work of the Organization (A/49/1). It demonstrates once again the increasing demands made on the United Nations and the Secretary-General.

Whereas during the forty-eighth session of the General Assembly much attention was devoted to the development and improvement of peace-keeping activities based on "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/27), this year we must once again focus our work on the problems of economic and social development. We welcome the intention of the Secretary-General to correct the misperception that the United Nations is primarily devoted to peace-keeping. Important as this field of activities is, the United Nations will succeed in its purpose "to maintain international peace and security" only if it deals with the roots of instability. We share the view of the Secretary-General that many conflicts have economic and social origins. The prevention of conflicts must therefore start at their roots. In this context the Agenda for Development must be the centrepiece of our work.

In his report "An Agenda for Development" (A/48/935), the Secretary-General has provided us with an in-depth analysis of the foundations of international cooperation for development. The fundamental changes in the political situation and in economic policy world wide have created a new environment in which we have a real chance of "bringing to fulfilment a renewed vision of development". The Agenda for Development must complement the Agenda for Peace as there is a clear interrelationship between peace and development.

Without peace there can be no development, and without development we will face increasing insecurity and conflicts in many parts of the world. A new framework for addressing new dimensions of development, including the role the United Nations could play is indeed strongly needed.

These past years have made us understand that development is of a very complex nature and that it is not enough to promote simple economic growth. That is why my Government strongly supports the concept of the five dimensions of development identified and defined in the Report of the Secretary-General. They should be seen as part of an integrated concept of sustainable human development. The addendum to be prepared by the Secretary-General should be built upon these five dimensions in order to reach a number of operational conclusions.

We share the view expressed in the Secretary-General's report "An Agenda for Development" that there is a clear linkage between political stability and development. Democracy, development and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms are interdependent and mutually reinforcing. They are the primary responsibility of Governments, which have to ensure the framework conditions for development.

The process of rendering the Agenda operational must be based on a spirit of partnership founded on recognition of mutual interest and solidarity. There is a need to recognize the increasing diversity of the developing world and the growing differentiation among developing countries. Several developing countries are now key actors in the world economy and should play an increased role in development cooperation efforts. There is also a need to recognize the role of new actors in development, including non-governmental actors.

The fight against poverty is a centrepiece of development assistance. The addendum to the Agenda for Development should pay particular attention to the least-developed countries and Africa. Particular problems of countries in transition should also be addressed.

A number of conferences held this year and to be held in 1995 are dealing with development-related problems. In May we discussed the problems of small island countries and agreed on a plan of action. The International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo not only focused attention on the central issue — population — but it was also able to reach a broad agreement on integrating population issues and development. Next year the World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen, which has been an important issue this week, will have to agree on a set of commitments on the eradication of poverty, on employment and on social integration. These are essential elements of national and international stability. The

Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing will not only recognize the important role of women in development but also, as we hope, agree on guidelines for further promoting this role.

The United Nations is the only forum where we can integrate the results of these conferences into a comprehensive concept for development. But in order to do so the role of the United Nations in development has to be revitalized. Further reforms designed to increase its relevance in this field are needed. We look forward to the addendum to the report of the Secretary-General on an Agenda for Development, which we hope will contain proposals to this effect.

In conclusion, my Government believes that development is a fundamental human right. Peace as the foundation, the economy as the engine of progress, the environment as a basis for sustainability, justice as a pillar of society, and democracy as good governance constitute the safest foundation for its realization.

Mr. Abibi (Congo) *(interpretation from French):* The report on the work of the Organization provided to us every year by the Secretary-General gives us an opportunity to assess the progress made on the road travelled by the international community in its quest for more freedom, security, peace and social progress for all people.

First of all my delegation would like to pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, and express our great appreciation for the high quality of the document before us.

We noted in particular that the report describes clearly all aspects of the activities of the Organization, ranging from our many achievements — some of which still have to be strengthened — to the innumerable challenges that still lie before us, and some understandable shortcomings that remain to be dealt with. The report presents to us the Organization as it is today and as it functions today on the eve of its fiftieth anniversary and thus helps us to better understand the actual limits of the United Nations system. It also highlights the main axes round which we should focus our thoughts so as to provide our Organization with the conceptual resources and the operational resources that are necessary in order to take up the major challenges facing the international community today.

The Organization can pride itself on a number of achievements during the period covered by the report. One of the first was the historic change in South Africa with the eradication of apartheid, a major event in which this Organization had invested enormous energies. Likewise, persevering and patient work in Mozambique allows us to glimpse, with the holding of free elections, the prospect of a happy future for this brother country. In Angola, the forthcoming signing of the peace agreement, thanks to the outstanding work of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, will unquestionably do credit to the United Nations.

These few achievements on our continent strengthen our belief that with a stronger political will on the part of Member States the United Nations will be able to solve the other absurd conflicts that still engulf certain African countries, putting an end to the nightmare suffered by innocent peoples who are forced to wandering through their own homelands. That is why my country cannot endorse any attempt to have the United Nations disengage from certain hot points that are mainly in Africa. My country believes that we must constantly urge the various parties to these conflicts to show greater responsibility by cooperating with the United Nations to seek lasting solutions to the problems undermining their countries.

My delegation believes that the peace-keeping operations maintained by the United Nations, if entered into with care and with respect for the provisions of the Charter, contribute enormously to the safeguarding of international peace and security. We reaffirm here the commitment of the Republic of the Congo to increasing its future contributions as a troop-contributing country. My delegation also believes that within the context of those peace-keeping operations, the United Nations, in the spirit of the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter, should step up its cooperation with regional bodies, and in the particular case of Africa, that it assist the Organization of African States (OAU) in making the latter's conflict prevention, management and settlement mechanisms more effective.

The United Nations is an instrument for peace; it must also efficiently promote development. My delegation welcomes the emerging consensus among the Member States that, as the report emphasizes in several places,

> "In the altered context of today's world, the definition of security is no longer limited to questions of land and weapons. It now includes economic well-being, environmental sustainability

> and the protection of human rights". *(A/49/1, para. 4)*.

This point was made on 27 September 1994 from this very rostrum by the Congolese Foreign Minister, when he said,

> "peace and security in our States and throughout the world require a solution to our people's economic and social problems" *(Official Records of the General Assembly, Forty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 7th meeting, p. 44)*.

Unfortunately, as the report very rightly points out,

> "While we have seen some progress towards peace and conflict management, we have seen little concerted action towards development". *(Ibid.)*

The case of Africa vividly illustrates these weaknesses in terms of international solidarity and the failure to live up to commitments entered into.

This is a time of great hope for economic recovery in many parts of our planet, suggesting that we will soon emerge from the turbulence imposed by the crisis that the world has been facing and that has highlighted the vanity of ideological and doctrinaire clichés on economic matters; Africa, however, stands tragically apart from this general movement. Our marginalization at the levels of international trade, monetary affairs, finances, technology, communication and exchanges of information is increasingly apparent. To this we can add the reduction in official development assistance and the burden of foreign debt, which remains one of the most serious hindrances to African countries' efforts to mobilize the necessary resources for development. The socio-economic situation of Africa remains disturbing.

Unfortunately, the report hardly reassures us, as it confirms a negative trend: resources devoted to operational activities of the United Nations for development continue, tragically, to drop. My delegation therefore appeals to donor countries that they establish a more stable financing mechanism and work resolutely to implement the commitments they have entered into. When all is said and done, the problem here is that which is quite rightly noted in the report, and with which my delegation agrees wholeheartedly:

> "The United Nations must renew and strengthen its commitment to work in the economic and social fields". *(Ibid., para. 4)*

As the twentieth century draws to an close, with the end of the cold war and with the enormous potential offered by science and technology, mankind has the means to usher in a new era based on sustainable human development for everyone, everywhere. We agree with the point emphasized by the report that

> "As a forum for discussion and awareness-raising, as a tool for cooperation and decision-making, and as a vehicle for promoting multilateral action, the United Nations can help forge the necessary global consensus" *(A/49/1, para. 9)*

for the attainment of this goal. That is why the Organization offers hope for the future to small countries such as my own that struggle with all their energy to escape the destiny of abject poverty and to take their rightful place in the international community.

Mr. Gambari (Nigeria): I consider it a great honour and a distinct privilege to address this Assembly on the Secretary-General's report on the work of our Organization. My delegation attaches great importance to the work of the United Nations, which holds the greatest hope for the maintenance of international peace and security and the enhancement of international cooperation for desirable economic growth and social development in a sound and sustainable environment.

I would like to commend the efforts and the demonstrated determination of our very able Secretary-General to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of our Organization. I would also like to state that my delegation endorses the position of the non-aligned countries, as ably presented earlier by my colleague, the representative of Indonesia. I would like, however, to make a few specific comments on some of the issues raised.

The profound and rapid changes on the international scene make it necessary for the members of this Assembly to renew their commitment to the objectives of the United Nations as set up by the founding fathers. Happily, the cold war has ended, and there is a new opportunity to fulfil the principles and purposes of the United Nations as contained in the Charter of our Organization.

Nevertheless, the post-cold-war world has, regrettably, witnessed numerous extremely serious conflicts, sometimes of an ethnic or tribal nature, in some regions of the world. The United Nations has been called upon to play leading roles to solve or manage such conflicts. Unfortunately, Member States have not always matched the authorizations of peace-keeping operations and peacemaking efforts with the necessary resources. Many of these conflicts have also assumed such dimensions and complexities that they pose serious consequences for the maintenance of international peace and security.

However, it is the view of my delegation that the United Nations must continue to persevere in its efforts to promote lasting solutions to these conflicts, wherever they may occur. Our Organization cannot simply pack up and exit from Somalia, for example, or from Liberia while staying on in Bosnia, in Cyprus, in Lebanon and elsewhere. Peace is truly indivisible and the search for peace is the collective responsibility of all of us.

Member States should demonstrate renewed political will to support the efforts of the Secretary-General in the quest for peace and security, economic growth and social development, which are all necessary bases and foundations for international and human solidarity, which the Secretary-General has called for in both the "Agenda for Peace" and the complementary "Agenda for Development". In our view, there can be no peace without sustainable development.

My delegation endorses the Secretary-General's call to Members to consider making prompt payment of assessed contributions for the operations of the Organization. The prompt payment of assessed contributions is to be regarded as a priority for all of us in order to enhance the effectiveness of our Organization and better to facilitate the operation of United Nations organs and several of its activities. Good intentions and comprehensive programmes of action can be useful only when supported by the necessary financial resources on the part of Member States. While there must be strict adherence to the principles of mutual respect for the equality and sovereignty of States, the rights of all States effectively to participate in the deliberations and decision-making mechanism of the United Nations on issues of global and regional interest must be balanced by Members' fulfilling their financial responsibilities and obligations to the Organization. The financial difficulty of the United Nations as reported recently by the Secretary-General demands the urgent attention of all Members.

My delegation commented earlier on Security Council reforms and has already made suggestions on the review of the Council's composition and operation. We will continue to make constructive contributions to the ongoing debate and consultations on Security Council reform and related matters. Specifically, democratization and transparency in its operation must remain the cornerstones of the process of reform, not only in the Security Council but in other forums of our Organization as well.

The United Nations, which has provided a forum for dialogue to defuse several hotbeds of tension in the world, remains a veritable catalyst in the efforts to maintain peace and security through the enforcement of fundamental human rights. The Charter of the United Nations, which embodies the principles that are basic to the attainment of international peace and security, needs the support of all Members at the turn of the century and beyond. It is therefore my delegation's belief that each and every one of us has a stake in a shared responsibility to strengthen our Organization. This is necessary in order to make it more able and capable of achieving the objectives of maintaining international peace and security in a politically stable and economically sound atmosphere.

My delegation will support intensified efforts to strengthen coordination and collaboration among the major organs of the United Nations. In particular, we support greater consultation between the General Assembly and the Security Council on all major issues of common concern. My delegation supports the suggestion that the Economic and Social Council should be made to play a more active role in the renewed efforts to support economic and social development as envisaged in the Secretary-General's report.

The ongoing exercise within the United Nations system to improve internal coordination and cooperation aimed at eliminating waste and at strengthening the effective utilization of available resources in the implementation of programmes and approved projects should be encouraged and supported. In this regard, we commend the efforts of the Secretary-General and his collaborators, and we urge them to intensify those efforts.

Finally, it is my delegation's view that the United Nations can be better strengthened through our renewed commitment and actions in support of the objectives of our Organization as enunciated in its Charter and of the idea of shared global responsibility and new partnership in development. We believe that, with the requisite political will and renewed commitment to the idea of human solidarity, international peace and security, economic growth and sustainable development in a sound environment can be achieved under a reinvigorated United Nations, while our efforts and priority should continue to be focused on peacemaking, preventive diplomacy, appropriate mechanisms for conflict resolution, and peace-building.

Mr. Zawels (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Argentine delegation is delighted that the General Assembly is again discussing a report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization. For a number of years now, the Secretary-General's reports have helped us to reflect on the tasks facing the Organization. In this context, we wish to highlight the document submitted to us this year by the Secretary-General. We appreciate not only the format, which includes tables and graphs based on statistics, but also the report's comprehensive approach, which emphasizes that there is an interrelationship between the question of economic and social development and the question of international peace and security.

Any organization, to fulfil the tasks assigned to it, must have sufficient and necessary resources. In recent years the United Nations has suffered a chronic shortfall in the flow of financial resources. This has given rise to a persistent crisis, described by the Secretary-General as unprecedented. It is clear that the main cause of this crisis is the fact that Member States do not pay their dues in full or punctually. In the view of the Argentine Republic, this crisis should be thoroughly analysed. Only by considering all the elements of the crisis will it be possible to find appropriate solutions to every aspect of the problem. We believe that this is a matter of priority, because if a solution is not found to this problem the United Nations runs the risk of seeing its various tasks seriously compromised, in the field both of economic and social development and of international peace and security.

The United Nations Charter assigns a central role to the United Nations in the field of economic development. For the Argentine Republic, the mandate of the United Nations in this sphere encompasses two directly interrelated areas. On the one hand, the United Nations is an exceptional forum for debate and for increasing the international community's awareness of international economic problems. In this respect, the agreements reached - for example at the special session of the Group of 18, the Rio Summit and the Cairo Conference - undoubtedly constitute milestones in defining the general political guidelines that should govern international economic activities.

Unfortunately, real-world indicators tell us that each time we meet we find ourselves farther removed from the world that we envisage here in these halls. We believe that most of the international economic problems could be resolved if each country present here were to put into practice the commitments undertaken.

The debate on a programme for development constitutes once again an opportunity to put into practice, from an overall, realistic and pragmatic standpoint, the guidelines agreed on in the documents mentioned earlier.

Secondly, the United Nations, and in the particular the United Nations Development Programme, have a central role to play in cooperation for development, promoting, through the operational activities of the system, concrete programmes of economic cooperation for development, which are a crucial element for the developing world as a whole.

Argentina views with great concern the reduction in contributions suffered by the system at large. We hope that the negotiations which are to take place in the framework of restructuring the economic and social system of the United Nations will make it easier in future to be able to rely on adequate and foreseeable resources, so that the United Nations can efficiently and effectively fulfil its mandate in this field.

In the social sphere, the Republic of Argentina attaches particular importance to the protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms, because we are firmly convinced that it is virtually impossible to live together in international peace until the last vestige of oppression of the world's peoples is eliminated. At the present time, it is hard to identify any international crisis that does not contain some element of human-rights violation.

In this context, we reaffirm our commitment to the strengthening of the machinery of the United Nations in the field of human rights and in particular to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights.

The Republic of Argentina attaches great importance, especially in the framework of the fiftieth anniversary of this Organization, to the holding of high-level meetings aimed at reviewing economic and social development issues. In this context, we want to underscore the importance of upcoming meetings such as the World Summit on Social Development for Social Development and the Fourth World Conference on Women. In this connection, it will be remembered that my country had the pleasure recently of organizing the sixth regional conference on the integration of women in economic and social development, held in the city of Mar del Plata, which was a preparatory meeting, in the framework of Latin America and the Caribbean, for the Beijing Conference.

We have already referred to the close link between peace and development. In this context, the Republic of Argentina sees enormous potential in all of the United Nations operational activities for development. None the less, there is room for improvement in one particular area of the system's work: the link between the emergency stage and that of rehabilitation for development.

In this respect, the delegation of Argentina will be proposing to the Assembly, for its consideration at this session and in the context of agenda item 37, on emergency humanitarian assistance, implementation of an initiative by the President of the Republic of Argentina, Mr. Carlos Menem: which he called the "White Helmets".

The terms of reference of the proposal are the following.

First, with respect to the mandate, countries would establish national volunteer corps with a high level of professionalism in the field of technical assistance for emergency situations followed by rehabilitation for development. These volunteer corps will be made available to the Secretary-General for participation in emergency operations.

Secondly, as to institutional aspects, existing multilateral mechanisms must be fully utilized. The United Nations has, in the Department of Humanitarian Affairs, an excellent mechanism for coordination, and in the United Nations volunteers a perfect operational instrument. The proposal would make optimal use of them.

Thirdly, with respect to the financial aspects, every country is responsible for financing, for which, in all countries, the participation of the private sector would be encouraged.

We hope, through this practical and viable proposal, which maximizes the potential of the volunteer work force, to contribute to the work of the United Nations in rehabilitation for development, which affects more and more countries in the wake of natural or man-made disasters.

Lastly, we wish to refer only briefly, because we will elaborate on this subject in the debate on the report of the Security Council to the General Assembly, to the role of the United Nations in the sphere of international peace and security. The United Nations Secretariat has an exceptional role to play in the implementation of the system of collective security. It accomplishes this through the management and organization of peace-keeping operations, good-offices missions or fact-finding missions.

The Republic of Argentina wishes to underscore the work accomplished in this field by the United Nations Secretariat, in particular in meeting the growing demand for personnel and equipment for the various peace-keeping operations that are under way and also in restructuring its own internal organization.

With Argentina's active participation in peace-keeping, we can value the work of the Secretariat especially. Argentina is contributing to this effort, not only with troops and specialized units, but also through military personnel seconded to the Secretariat and concrete proposals to organize some of the current systems, such as air transport. In this context, Argentina also supports the system of reserve forces, which it believes will be highly useful in the future.

Nor should we fail to mention the subject of the safety of peace-keeping operations personnel. Argentina pays tribute to the men and women who have given their lives in the fulfilment of the tasks assigned them by the United Nations. In this context, we appeal to States to cooperate with a view to the adoption by the Assembly of the draft convention on the safety and security of personnel, prepared by the Ad Hoc Committee of the Sixth Committee.

Mr. Pierre (Guyana): The rapidly evolving circumstances of the current international context continue to present a host of challenges, as well as new opportunities, for the United Nations. As the Secretary-General's report shows, over the past year the Organization has actively sought to address the manifold critical global events and issues requiring urgent action and international collaboration. While the responsiveness of the Organization is evidently now less handicapped by obstacles previously produced by ideological rivalries of the cold war, it has been limited by various constraints. However, despite this fact, the United Nations has undoubtedly made concerted efforts to deal with the pressing demands it now faces.

An encouraging feature of this year's report is the emphasis placed upon the multidimensional nature of international peace and security, which is now correctly perceived as encompassing economic well-being, environmental sustainability, democracy and the protection of human rights. It is gratifying to note that economic and social issues are increasingly gaining prominence on the international agenda and within the framework of the United Nations, where it is accepted that there is an inextricable interlinkage and a symbiotic relationship between international peace and security and development. The Secretary-General has affirmed in his report that

> "the United Nations is deepening its attention to the foundations of peace, which lie in the realm of development." *(A/49/1, para. 1)*

It is widely acknowledged within the membership of the United Nations that the current structure, which was originally conceived almost half a century ago to address the traditional narrow concepts of international peace and security, is not in consonance with the prevailing global realities now compelling the Organization to address a myriad of unprecedented and complex issues and events.

Over the past year considerable progress has been made in deliberations and decisions regarding reform and restructuring of the Organization to enhance its efficiency and effectiveness.

With respect to the Security Council, the extensive and very constructive deliberations on the structure and functioning of that body were encouraging and positive, and they augur well for the future. It is hoped that concrete and timely results will emerge from the general agreement that the Council should be enlarged and made more democratic, transparent and representative of the current United Nations membership. Indeed, some positive measures were implemented to make its functioning transparent, and the General Assembly is apparently playing a more active role in addressing the functioning of the Council.

In response to the growing concerns of the international community on the issue of human rights, the United Nations has sought to enhance its effectiveness in addressing this issue by creating the post of High Commissioner for Human Rights. It is expected that this decision will result in the active promotion by the United Nations of the enjoyment of civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights, which form the basis of human-centred development.

The Agenda for Development, which was initiated as a response, and, indeed, a necessary complement, to the Agenda for Peace, launched in 1992, has been the subject of intensive consultations over the past year. The World Hearings on Development have elicited positive reactions from the international community and will certainly serve to advance the many concerns and proposals that will eventually be integrated into the Agenda for Development. It is hoped that the Agenda for Development will provide the fundamental principles and guidelines for the international community to adopt an integrated and dynamic approach to the promotion of development that focuses on enduring human progress as its ultimate objective.

During discussions on this subject it was constantly stressed that the United Nations needed to improve its own internal structures and operations to effectively promote the new concept of sustainable development, which encompasses various interrelated issues — something that could result in duplication and an unnecessary waste of scarce resources. It was widely felt that more coherent and coordinated policies and approaches were required to streamline the Organization's work in this vital area. The decision of the Secretary-General to mandate the Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme with responsibility to enhance the coordination of operational activities for development was a direct response to such appeals.

It is indeed commendable that, despite pressing financial constraints and a severe shortfall in resources for development, the United Nations is demonstrating the will to expand and enhance its activities in the area of economic and social development as a manifest acknowledgment that development is a *sine qua non* for lasting international peace and security. The convening of a number of international conferences on relevant development issues during the past year further attests to this international commitment. It is sincerely hoped that the findings and conclusions of these conferences will benefit from a continued global commitment and thereby produce positive long-term results.

While the United Nations continued actively to pursue its humanitarian and peace-keeping activities occasioned by the eruption of numerous internal conflicts and emergency situations of a global dimension, it nevertheless made stringent efforts to maintain its role in preventive diplomacy and peacemaking. The numerous peace-keeping operations and relief activities carried out in the last year continue to strain the Organization's limited resources. However, these are a vital responsibility of the international community that cannot and must not be neglected.

Preventive diplomacy and peace-keeping should be a priority of the United Nations since such measures would serve to prevent human suffering and an unnecessary and undesirable depletion of all resources. The successful outcome of preventive diplomacy and peacemaking, which have political, economic and social components, should obviate the outbreak of conflicts and the concomitant necessity for costly peace-keeping exercises.

On a more positive note, the world was happy to witness the progress achieved in the Middle East peace process and the acceptance by the membership of the United Nations of the credentials of Israel. The entry of a democratic and non-racial South Africa into the United Nations was another highlight of the year. It is sincerely hoped that this spirit of cooperation and conciliation and the promotion of democracy globally will continue to gather impetus and serve to enhance the functioning of the United Nations.

With the impending fiftieth anniversary of this body, all Member States should strive to make a renewed commitment to assist in the rebirth of an Organization that sets the well-being of all peoples as its ultimate objective. In view of the rapid globalization process and the increasing interdependence between nations, we should work assiduously towards enhancing international cooperation and towards adopting an integrated and dynamic approach to address the root causes of conflict in order to achieve lasting peace and security. The international community increasingly looks to the United Nations to resolve global problems. However, this cannot be effectively achieved unless there is a serious commitment by all Member States. Let us not allow ourselves to become complacent, but, instead, strive relentlessly towards achieving greater progress.

The President: It is customary for the Assembly to take note of the annual report of the Secretary-General. If I hear no objection, may I take it that the Assembly wishes to take note of the report?

It was so decided.

The President: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

May I remind members that statements in exercise of the right of reply are limited to 10 minutes for the first intervention and to five minutes for the second, and should be made by delegations from their seats.

Mr. Sreenivasan (India): The delegation of Pakistan has ceased to surprise. Its focus on India has become somewhat tiresome, its arguments too evidently motivated. The portion of the statement of the representative of Pakistan relating to India was anchored in paragraphs 541 and 542 of the Secretary-General's report in document A/49/1. It is still not clear to my delegation how the Secretary-General has drawn the conclusion:

> "None the less, the level of tension in Jammu and Kashmir has increased considerably in recent years." *(A/49/1, para. 541)*

Members of the Assembly will recall that this rather sweeping assertion, covering a longish period of time, was totally absent from the Secretary-General's report to the General Assembly at its forty-eighth session.

My Government's response to that rather puzzling conclusion in the Secretary-General's report was conveyed in a statement issued by the official spokesman of the Government of India on 24 September 1994. He said:

> "We note the Secretary-General's reference to increase in tension in Jammu and Kashmir. As we have repeatedly said, and this has been acknowledged by impartial observers, this is entirely due to Pakistan's sponsorship of terrorism, militancy and extremism across the line of control."

The spokesman went on to say:

> "The Government of India expects that the Government of Pakistan will demonstrate sincerity to find a peaceful solution by eschewing sponsorship

> of terrorism across the line of control, and returning to the negotiating table for bilateral dialogue."

The representative of Pakistan has asserted that there is a threat to peace and security. I would request him to reconcile this with repeated statements of the Defence Minister of Pakistan discounting the possibility of war. The same has been said by senior representatives of Pakistan's armed forces. Need I suggest that the purpose of the Pakistani eloquence in this General Assembly is somewhat different?

What is being concealed is Pakistan's illicit desire for Indian territory. In pursuit of this, Pakistan has used war — and terrorism, on its own admission — as well as sophistry and chicanery.

We in India shall not succumb to any of this. We have offered our hand of friendship to Pakistan. We have repeatedly offered a bilateral dialogue to Pakistan. We have consistently emphasized that the Simla Agreement of 1972, signed by President Bhutto of Pakistan and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi of India, remains very much in place, and is the only viable framework, mutually agreed upon, under which such a bilateral dialogue with a view to settling differences can take place.

For the dialogue to resume, Pakistan merely has to propose a time and a place, either in India or in Pakistan, for a meeting. No international intervention, no resolution, no new modality is required for such a dialogue. It would be counterproductive.

Mr. Akram (Pakistan): Our colleague from India has sought to deny what India is doing on the ground in Kashmir. He has challenged the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Secretary-General's report is objective and truthful. The falsehood emanates from New Delhi. The situation between India and Pakistan is tense because, for the past five years, India has sent an army of over half a million men into Jammu and Kashmir. This army is engaged in a campaign of repression and genocide against the innocent Kashmiri people.

The Defence Minister of Pakistan has stated that there is no threat of war because Pakistan has exercised self-restraint despite Indian provocations and has refused to answer the provocations of India. It is for this reason that there is no threat to war. In the month of August, Indian forces along the line of control violated the cease-fire line 142 times. This is confirmed by the United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP).

In the Indian press there are reports of daily killings. Mr. Banyal, *Hindustan Times*, 13 October — a typical example:

> "Not a single day passes when two or three dozen people are not killed in the valley or other parts of the State of Jammu and Kashmir."

The Indian Prime Minister held out a threat to Pakistan, on 15 August, when he threatened to complete the unfinished task by regaining Azad Kashmir by force. This statement was a virtual threat of war against Pakistan, and yet my colleague from India argues that there is no threat to peace. The Secretary-General is right; the representative of India is wrong.

India blames Pakistan for instigating the tension by terrorism. But the Kashmiri struggle against a half-million-strong Indian army is not terrorism. The Kashmiris have a right to self-defence in the exercise of their right to self-determination. This is their inherent, inborn right, and no one can take this away from them. India is responsible for State terrorism against the Kashmiri people and Pakistan condemns this State terrorism which India resorts to. Pakistan has offered monitoring of the line of control by UNMOGIP. We have proposed to strengthen UNMOGIP from 35 to 200 observers. I hope India can accept that offer so that India's allegations of cross-border assistance to the Kashmiris can be verified by these observers.

Anyone is free to visit any part of Azad Kashmir or any part of Pakistan. I hope India can say the same about Indian-held Jammu and Kashmir.

India blames everything wrong that happens within India on Pakistan. Recently, a distinguished Indian deputy opposition leader claimed that Pakistan had sent infested rats into Kashmir to spread the plague. This is the extent of the depravity of the thought processes that take place in India.

India offers bilateral dialogue to Pakistan and does not want intercession by any third party. But the only two agreements concluded between India and Pakistan were concluded with the intercession of third parties: the one concerning the Rann of Kush dispute and the Indus Waters Treaty. No dispute — no major dispute — between India and Pakistan has ever been resolved through bilateral means. What India wants through bilateralism is simply hegemonism, Indian diktat — and Pakistan is not prepared to submit to Indian diktat.

India talks about bilateralism. Ten rounds of talks were held in 1972; seven rounds of talks were held between 1990 and 1993. At each round of talks, India took the position that Jammu and Kashmir was an integral part of India and that there was nothing to talk about. There is an inherent contradiction in the Indian position. If they are prepared to discuss the Jammu and Kashmir dispute, then it cannot be an integral part of India. Let India say this openly, and let India halt its war against the Kashmiri people, and we can resume talks, we can reach an agreement, we can conclude peace with India, we can clasp hands in friendship and bring prosperity to over a billion people. But let India stop its killing in Kashmir.

The President: The Assembly has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of agenda item 10.

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.

United Nations A/49/PV.48

General Assembly

Forty-ninth Session

Official Records

48th Meeting

Monday, 31 October 1994, 3 p.m.

New York

President: Mr. Essy .... (Côte d'Ivoire)

In the absence of the President, Mr. Biegman (Netherlands), Vice-President, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 3.20 p.m.

Agenda item 11

Report of the Security Council (A/49/2)

The President: I call on the President of the Security Council to introduce the report of the Security Council.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom), President of the Security Council: I am delighted to have this opportunity to address the General Assembly as President of the Security Council, albeit on the last day of my presidency, and to introduce the annual report of the Council covering the period from 16 June 1993 to 15 June 1994 (A/49/2).

The members of the Security Council attach the very greatest importance to the timely preparation and submission of the annual report to the General Assembly, as provided for in Articles 15 and 24 of the United Nations Charter. In presenting this annual report to the Assembly, I have sought to follow the practice established last year by the Permanent Representative of Brazil. That is to say, the draft of this annual report was issued to all Member States and was adopted at a public meeting of the Security Council, not at a closed meeting, as in the past.

Consideration of the Council's report by the General Assembly constitutes an important occasion for a substantive dialogue and interaction between these two principal organs of the United Nations, a dialogue which will, I hope, touch not just on the nature of the report presented to the Assembly today, but also on the substance of the issues before the Security Council.

As has been the case with past reports, the report I am introducing this year reflects the heavy workload of the Council in responding to problems related to the maintenance of international peace and security. As the report notes, during the period under consideration the Council held 153 formal meetings, adopted 87 resolutions and agreed 68 statements by the President. In addition, Council members held 252 consultations of the whole, totalling some 353 hours. Other members of the Council participating in this debate may wish to comment on the substance of that work. It is not for me, as President of the Security Council, to do so, except perhaps to note, as our Brazilian colleague did last year, that the voluminous content of the document before the Assembly reflects the varied and complex nature of the challenges posed to international peace and security and the justified expectation of Member States that the Security Council should respond to them.

The members of the Security Council listened carefully to the proposals made in the debate in this Hall last year upon the Council's report, and also to debates

This record contains the original text of speeches delivered in English and interpretations of speeches delivered in the other languages. Corrections should be submitted to original speeches only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and be sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned, *within one week of the date of publication*, to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Section, Room C-178. Corrections will be issued after the end of the session in a consolidated corrigendum. When the result of a recorded and/or roll-call vote is followed by an asterisk, see annex to the record.

elsewhere in this Organization, on how the work of the Council can be made more transparent and more accessible to non-members of the Council. In June 1993 the Council established an informal Working Group on documentation and other procedural matters. That Working Group has met regularly — virtually on a monthly basis — and a number of steps have been taken following recommendations by the Group. First and foremost among them are the changes to the annual report itself. The introduction to the report has been made more substantive and, like last year, the appendices listing resolutions and presidential statements now provide cross-references to the relevant chapter, section and sub-section of the report for each resolution and presidential statement. Further changes remain under consideration by the Working Group. While I would not wish to stand here and tell the Assembly that this is a user-friendly document, I would suggest that it is a slightly less user-unfriendly document than the reports of two or three years ago.

In addition, the Council decided in March 1994 that draft resolutions in their "blue", or provisional, form would be made available for collection by non-members of the Council as soon as they were circulated. Also, in July 1993 the Council decided to make available to all Member States the tentative forecast of the programme of work of the Council for each month. This year the practice has been instituted of annexing to the forecast a list of forthcoming reports by the Secretary-General as requested by the Council as well as the schedule of forthcoming reviews or renewals of mandates of peace-keeping operations and of sanctions regimes. Also, as part of the effort to improve the documentation of the Council and make its work more accessible, the Working Group has been reviewing the list of matters of which the Council is seized. This year a large number of items has again been removed from the list. Items are removed only after extensive consideration and appropriate consultation. Neither the removal of a matter from the list nor its retention carries any implication for the substance of the matter. But the exercise is a necessary one of rationalization.

The Working Group has also given consideration to the important question of ways of briefing Member States on the progress of informal consultations without prejudicing the confidentiality and the efficiency of the consultations system itself, and the first informal presidency briefing of non-members on the current work of the Council was held on 27 October 1994.

Finally, there has been much consideration this year in the Council of ways to enhance consultations and exchanges of information with troop-contributing countries regarding peace-keeping operations, including their planning, management and coordination, particularly when significant extensions of an operation's mandate are in prospect. The presidential statement of 3 May 1994 made certain recommendations in this regard. It also committed the Council to keeping under review arrangements for communication with non-members of the Council. This month, consideration is being given to further steps to improve these arrangements for consultation, involving Member States, troop-contributing countries, members of the Security Council and the Secretariat. I should just say that this morning we made substantial progress towards decisions on this matter, which will, I hope, not be long delayed.

As indicated in the introduction to the Security Council's report, the report is not intended as a substitute for the official records of the Security Council, which provide a more substantive account of its deliberations. Thus the report should be read, for the purposes of this discussion in the General Assembly too, in conjunction with other official documents of the Council, to which it constitutes a reference guide.

In conclusion, I would just say that the members of the Security Council will, I am sure, listen attentively to the debate we are holding here today. They welcome this opportunity for a substantive dialogue; I hope that members of the Assembly will see by the way we have responded in the past year that this is not just a polite phrase that we use. We are listening, and we will take into consideration points that are put forward in this debate.

The President: I wish to propose that the list of speakers in the debate on this item be closed at 4 p.m. today.

It was so decided.

Mr. Wisnumurti (Indonesia): It is a distinct honour and privilege for me to deliver this statement on behalf of the non-aligned countries on the agenda item before us, namely, the report of the Security Council to the General Assembly, to which we attach great importance.I should like at the outset to commend the President of the Security Council, Ambassador David Hannay, for his lucid introduction of the Council's annual report.

The report highlights, among other things, a number of procedural methods adopted by the Council with a view to enhancing the efficiency of its work. We hope that these could constitute a basis upon which to build our endeavours to strengthen its efficacy further. I also share Ambassador Hannay's view that the consideration of the report provides an opportunity, not only for a meaningful dialogue on the nature of the report, but also on the substantive issues considered by the Council.

Recent developments in world affairs have placed the Security Council in a position of pre-eminence which has ramifications for the work of the United Nations and beyond it. Numerous circumstances have also contributed to an unprecedented number of activities undertaken by that august body. The steady expansion of peace-keeping operations in various parts of the world has seized the Council of an active agenda. We note with interest that the cooperative spirit prevailing among the members of the Council has facilitated the adoption of unanimous positions on some complex disputes, while we are also cognizant of its failure to resolve certain critical issues effectively. The Council has thus reached a critical turning-point and Member States look forward to its more effective role as the obstacles which paralysed it for so long continue to be removed.

It is in this context that the countries of the Non-Aligned Movement views the report of the Security Council to the General Assembly in document A/49/2. As in the past, the Council provides a comprehensive account of its activities during the preceding year and describes its task in the context of its ever-increasing responsibilities. It also contains a compendium of communications and other documents, as well as a listing of decisions and actions taken on the issues that were brought before it.

It cannot, however, be denied that the hopes expressed by an overwhelming majority of the international community that the report would be transformed from a descriptive account to a document that would analyse the issues dealt with by the Security Council have been disappointed. It is particularly regrettable that the report does not contain an evaluation of the issues considered by the Council and a detailed account of the work of its special committees. Despite its voluminous nature, the report is not a document of a substance commensurate with the greatly expanded role of the Security Council. It is, therefore, the considered view of the members of the Non-Aligned Movement that the annual report mandated in Article 24, paragraph 3, of the Charter must be more than a mere description of activities and a reproduction of resolutions already known. It should instead contain analyses and an assessment of the decisions taken on various issues in order to meet the need for greater clarity and understanding of the Council's reasonings and motives in adopting decisions.

The non-aligned countries take the view that the attainment of these objectives would be further promoted by the strict implementation of Article 15, paragraph 1, and Article 24, paragraph 3, of the Charter pertaining to special reports of the Security Council, in particular, on the measures that it has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security.

The Movement of Non-Aligned Countries has also adopted a forthright position on a number of issues pertaining to the functioning and operation of the Security Council, especially those relating to equity, equality and democratization in the decision-making process, the Council's relationship with the other principal organs of the United Nations and its procedures and practices. The communiqué issued by the Ministerial Meeting of the Non-Aligned Countries held at Cairo last June reiterated the need for the faithful observance of the Charter provisions concerning the role of the Security Council in order to achieve a better balance with the other principal organs of the United Nations, especially the General Assembly. Article 24, paragraph 1, of the Charter states, in part, that the Members of the United Nations:

> "confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and agree that...the Security Council acts on their behalf."

Hence, the Security Council, in carrying out its duty under this provision, is accountable to the general membership.

The Cairo communiqué further stressed the importance of enhancing the effectiveness and efficiency of the Council by adopting a number of measures geared to reforming its working methods and procedures, particularly in the context of an improved relationship with the General Assembly and non-members of the Council.

With regard to greater transparency in the Council's decision-making processes the Cairo communiqué called for an increased number of both formal and informal meetings prior to the adoption of decisions, thereby allowing for wider participation. Other measures include the participation of non-members in informal consultations, full and informative press releases and the provision of tentative monthly programmes that will keep Member States fully informed of the nature and scope of the Council's activities.

An effective and timely flow of information can also be facilitated through, *inter alia*, the institutionalization of consultations between the Presidents of the General Assembly and the Security Council. In this connection, we urge the President of the General Assembly to propose appropriate ways and means to facilitate an in-depth discussion by the Assembly on matters contained in the reports submitted to it by the Security Council, as mandated by General Assembly resolution 48/264.

Yet another aspect of transparency is the need for institutionalizing an appropriate mechanism for direct consultations between the Security Council, the Secretariat and interested States, especially the troop-contributing countries, on the establishment and conduct of peace-keeping operations. Equally important in this regard is the participation of interested non-members in any subsidiary organs established by the Council to monitor developments in various parts of the world.

It is also pertinent to recall that both the Cairo Conference and the Ministerial Meeting of the Non-Aligned Countries held in New York early this month reaffirmed the view of the Jakarta Summit Meeting that the exercise of veto, which guarantees an exclusive and dominant role for the permanent members of the Security Council, is incompatible with the aim of democratizing the Council. The right of veto was accorded as a result of exceptional historical circumstances that no longer prevail. The Council as a body purports to act on behalf of all Member States, and its decisions are binding. Hence, none of its members should negate the majority view or frustrate the achievement of consensus. We are aware that this prerogative is rarely used in recent times, but there are no assurances that it will not be used again with negative repercussions. The veto provision should therefore be reviewed.

In short, the non-aligned countries are committed to a truly representative, transparent and democratized Security Council which would reflect the current configuration of membership.

The non-aligned countries note the positive response of the Security Council in implementing proposals relating to its working methods and procedures, including the adoption and timely submission of reports to the General Assembly and the inclusion of its provisional agenda in the *Journal*. We also foresee the possibility of the adoption by the Council of further concrete measures that would strengthen its role in the maintenance of international peace and security. In the same spirit, we remain hopeful that it would be responsive to change both in its composition and in its procedures and practices. In these endeavours, the Non-Aligned Movement is fully committed to rendering the Council more responsive in meeting emerging challenges and opportunities.

Finally, the non-aligned countries propose that this agenda item be kept open until such time as the President has concluded his consultations as called for in resolution 48/264 and has informed the General Assembly of the results of those consultations.

Mr. Razali (Malaysia): May I first welcome with great appreciation the presence and effort of the President of the Security Council, Sir David Hannay, who has come here to present the report of the Security Council. We see his presence as indicative of future prospects and of a progressive understanding of the need to establish a basis of dialogue between the General Assembly and the Security Council.

My delegation would like to express our appreciation to the President of the General Assembly for deferring consideration of this important agenda item from 26 October to 31 October. This decision was necessary because the Council's 552-page report (A/49/2) was made available to delegations only on 24 October. The increasing number of speakers on this agenda item makes clear the significance delegations attach to the work and functioning of the Council. The general membership is sending the message that it is both interested in examining and has the right to examine the affairs of the Council.

The Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement has just conveyed the views of the Movement on this report. The Malaysian delegation fully supports his statement. My delegation would now like to highlight and reiterate some of our views on the issues under consideration.

The four-part report begins with an introduction, which rightly recalls the legislative basis for the submission of the report: namely, Article 24, paragraph 3, and Article 15, paragraph 1 of the Charter of the United Nations. From the viewpoint of the General Assembly, it is equally necessary to emphasize that the debate on this item is consistent with Article 10, which says:

> "The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters."

Our deliberations today should focus on the decisions and actions of the Council. After all, in Article 24, paragraph 1, it is recognized that the Members of the United Nations have conferred

> "on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf."

As the Working Group on the expansion and reform of the Council proceeds, many of us will seek to utilize the full implications of this Article to bring into being not only an equitably expanded Council, but also one that truly reflects the moral and political authority of the international community.

As in the past, the report contains a compendium of communications and other documents as well as a listing of decisions and actions taken by the Council. In this regard, the request of the vast majority of Member States for an analytical and substantive report has not been met. The Council has also failed to submit special reports, as provided for in Article 15, paragraph 1, of the Charter, to the Members of the United Nations. The General Assembly should have benefited from special reports on issues such as those concerning Rwanda or Bosnia and Herzegovina. The States Members of the United Nations have a legitimate right to full details of the Council's actions on various issues.

Part I of the report, entitled "Questions considered by the Security Council under its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security", identifies specific issues and the decisions it took on them. For the purposes of our debate today, my delegation would like to address the decisions of the Council pertaining to two issues: "The situation concerning Rwanda", as reflected in pages 180 to 211, and "Items relating to the situation in the former Yugoslavia", from pages 67 to 161.

According to the report, on the issue of "The situation concerning Rwanda" the Council had 12 meetings, adopted eight resolutions and issued four presidential statements. Yet, among all these resolutions and presidential statements, there is no explanation as to how the Council could have countenanced the death and maiming of thousands of people, generally considered genocide by the vast majority of mankind. Between the adoption of resolution 872 (1993) of 5 October 1993 and the adoption of resolution 918 (1994) of 17 May 1994, thousands of innocent people in Rwanda died, before the Council decided to strengthen United Nations peace-keeping operations there. The initial decision to reduce the United Nations presence in Rwanda could be interpreted, with the benefit of hindsight, as having contributed to the calamity that befell that country.

The crisis in Rwanda has been acknowledged as the most tragic humanitarian crisis of our time. During the bloodletting the General Assembly received no special reports from the Council. In essence, the United Nations, representing the international community, cannot avoid some kind of responsibility for failing to prevent the killing of so many thousands of people and the huge influx of refugees into the countries around Rwanda. The debate on Rwanda and the failure of the United Nations role there must be properly reflected, and lessons must be learned, not only in the Council, but also in the General Assembly.

In the case of the situation in the former Yugoslavia, the report carries a number of sub-items, which include "The situation in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", "Applications made under Article 50 of the Charter", "The situation in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina", "United Nations Protection Force", "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) Missions", "Establishment of an international tribunal for the prosecution of persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia" and "The situation in Croatia".

The Council considered the issue at 35 meetings and adopted 16 resolutions, and 18 presidential statements were made, during the period under review. It is all too evident that, despite all this activity, aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina and "ethnic cleansing" have not ceased. Indeed, in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, not only has the Council not enforced its own decisions and resolutions, but it has impeded Bosnia and Herzegovina's exercise of its inherent right to self-defence.

The issues of both Rwanda and Bosnia and Herzegovina underline the importance of, and the special need for, the Council's seeking wider consultations. Such an approach would help arrest — or, at least, moderate — a tendency on the part of certain influential members to consider issues before the Council purely through their own political prism. It will be increasingly untenable to maintain that the Council is above the rest of the United Nations and that the five permanent members can individually or collectively continue with their actions in the Council with no means of making these actions accountable, to any extent, to the general membership. We have also had situations in which permanent members, despite initial qualms and reservations, chose to go along in order to maintain the cohesion of the five permanent members. In the days of the cold war the actions of the Council were checkmated by the East-West pull and counter-pull. Now, in the name of cohesion of the five permanent members, the Council is becoming an "omni" organization, a cabal of five, protected by the Charter from being answerable to the general membership.

An overall assessment of the work of the Council would indicate that the Council remains locked in paralysis, with some influential members weighing the political, financial and manpower costs of getting involved in crises. The Council's unwillingness to enforce its own resolutions and respect the General Assembly, as in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, could definitely undermine the credibility and faith placed in the Council and the concept of United Nations collective security.

As the body which, under the Charter, has the primary responsibility for international peace and security, the Security Council, in carrying out its responsibilities on behalf of the Members of the United Nations, must act in conformity with the provisions of the Charter, particularly Article 24. In this regard, the Council, before taking major decisions or action, is duty-bound to consult regional groups, troop-contributing countries and the general membership.

My delegation notes with appreciation the positive changes instituted by the Council with regard to its work and documentation. The release of the tentative forecast and the availability of some documents have created a sense of positive responsiveness, on the part of the Council, to the Members of the United Nations. Indeed, last Thursday the President of the Council organized a briefing for delegations. Welcome as they are, however, these changes remain inadequate. They must be broadened, accelerated and institutionalized. It is not the intention of my delegation to dwell on details at this stage. We shall go into detail in the Working Group on the expansion and reform of the Security Council.

The Members of the Organization must have unimpeded access to the Council for the purpose of addressing it in open public meetings to make their pronouncements on major and current issues impacting on international peace and security. Those of us who sought to participate in the Council debate immediately after the massacre at Hebron, for instance, are no doubt fully aware of the tactics employed to dissuade Member States from making such pronouncements. The practice of preventing a debate, without even the use of the veto, must be rejected in no uncertain terms.

The General Assembly's resolution 48/264 invited its President

> "to propose appropriate ways and means to facilitate an in-depth discussion by the Assembly of matters contained in the reports submitted to it by the Security Council". *(resolution 48/264, para.4)*

In line with that resolution, discussion of this agenda item should remain open to enable appropriate follow-up action.

Mr. Mishra (India): The report of the Security Council to the General Assembly (A/49/2) follows the familiar pattern. It is a valuable compendium of the papers that emanated from the Security Council during the period 16 June 1993 to 15 June 1994, with a bland narration of the sequence of events. Historians and researchers will find it an excellent reference manual — a guide to the activities of the Council, as the report itself claims. They will have the advantage of having in one place all the material necessary to learn about the breadth of the activities of the Security Council during the period in question.

However, the question being asked, particularly in recent years, is whether the report really fulfils the obligations imposed on the Security Council by the Charter, in Article 24, paragraph 3, and whether the General Assembly has been enabled to carry out its own responsibility under Article 15 of the Charter to receive and consider the report. It is not by accident that the reference to the annual and special reports of the Security Council to the General Assembly is made in Article 24. That Article, in an earlier paragraph, speaks of the relationship between the Security Council and the General Assembly. It states clearly that "in carrying out its duties under this responsibility" — namely, the maintenance of international peace and security — "the Security Council acts on their" — that is, Member States' — "behalf".

There is, therefore, an integral link between the Security Council's role in the maintenance of international peace and security and its obligation to report to the General Assembly once a year, if not more often. Similarly, the General Assembly, under Article 15, shall receive and consider

> "an account of the measures that the Security Council has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security."

We are grateful to the President of the General Assembly for readily agreeing to the request made by the non-aligned countries this year to postpone the debate on this item to enable those countries at least to look through the 552 pages with which the Security Council has provided us. Originally, as will be recalled, the debate was to take place within 48 hours of the report's having been made available to delegations. It appeared as though this debate was a mere ritual and as though the contents of the report were of no relevance or consequence. This year we have made the point that there should be time for delegations to study the report and to comment on it after due deliberation. The point to be stressed is that timely submission is important if the report is to receive the consideration to which it is entitled under the Charter.

In considering this year's report, we have the advantage of having heard the views of Member States on reform of the Security Council, expressed in the Open-ended Working Group of the General Assembly. Many delegations, including mine, emphasized the importance of the report's becoming a true instrument of interaction between the Security Council and the General Assembly. This can be achieved only if the report is made more substantive, more elaborate and more analytical. It should provide an insight into the informal process that led to decision-making so that we can make informed judgements which, in turn, will generate inputs that are of benefit to the Security Council itself. This is the very essence of the relevant provisions of the Charter that I mentioned earlier, which were designed to give the general membership a sense of participation in the Council's decision-making, which has serious implications for them. A sense of participation would greatly enhance the credibility and moral authority of the Security Council.

Another purpose that an analytical report can serve is to demonstrate the extent to which the Charter's provisions concerning the division of work have been followed. The Charter envisages a careful balance between the principal organs of the Organization, especially the General Assembly and the Security Council. A balanced relationship between the Council and the Assembly is of paramount importance, and this can be achieved only if the need for strict observance of their respective roles, as stipulated in the Charter, is kept in mind. The General Assembly has to remain watchful to ensure that issues that are extraneous to the mandate of the Security Council do not get dragged into it.

We are aware that in recent years the Security Council has brought about some improvements in its working methods — for example, listing in the daily *Journal* the subjects for informal consultations; distribution of the monthly programme to the general membership; and briefings by the President. These are small steps, but they do go in the right direction, and the Council should be encouraged to take more innovative steps to enhance transparency and democratization. Interestingly, though, even the improvements that the Council itself has authorized do not figure in its report.

One area in which the immediate interests of Member States that are not members of the Council are affected is peace-keeping. The considerable increase in the number of operations and the fact that most troop-contributing countries are not members of the Council make it imperative that the non-members, particularly troop-contributors, be involved in the decision-making on peace-keeping. This is particularly important when decisions relating to the size, mandate and other aspects of the existing major operations are taken.

While speaking of reform of the Security Council with a view to enhancing its credibility and authority, one cannot miss the point that the most important reform required is to make the Council truly representative, in terms of numbers as well as of the global power structure, of present-day realities. Together with other like-minded countries, India proposed in 1979 that this matter should be examined. Today, there is general recognition that both the permanent and the non-permanent categories of membership of the Council should be expanded. While criteria are established for non-permanent members, no such criteria exist for permanent members. We have already spelt out some relevant criteria in our statement in this year's general debate. These should be developed and adopted before nominating any country for permanent membership.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that the report of the Security Council should be more analytical in future and, more important, we should set in place a regular system of exchange between the General Assembly and an appropriately expanded Security Council. An effective mechanism is required for this if the general membership is to be reassured that the Council is accountable to the Assembly and is confining itself to the maintenance of international peace and security by acting in strict conformity with the provisions of the Charter.

Mrs. Hassan (Egypt) *(interpretation from Arabic):* At the outset, the delegation of Egypt wishes to thank the President of the General Assembly for having deferred consideration of the report of the Security Council to the General Assembly thus making it possible for a larger number of delegations to study and examine the report and to consider all its contents.

The delegation of Egypt wishes also to extend its appreciation to the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, this month's President of the Council, for introducing the report to the Assembly. This practice, which started last year when the Permanent Representative of Brazil introduced the report to the General Assembly, is a step in the right direction towards more progress in the implementation of the provisions of the Charter with regard to the responsibility of the Security Council *vis-à-vis* the General Assembly. The practice also reflects a new spirit of cooperation which deserves appreciation.

The annual debate that takes place in the General Assembly when the Assembly considers the report of the Security Council, which is submitted to it in accordance with Articles 15 and 24 of the Charter, affords all Members of the Organization the opportunity of exchanging views regarding the development of the Security Council's activities, to take note of the Council's achievements and its attitudes on certain complex issues while taking note, at the same time, of any shortcomings in the Council's handling of other issues. The debate is also an occasion that makes it possible for conducting the necessary dialogue and vital interaction between the General Assembly and the Security Council. Such dialogue and interaction are bound to support and strengthen the respective roles of the General Assembly and the Security Council in discharging their mandates with regard to maintaining international peace and security in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. In addition, the debate is a significant occasion that highlights the accountability of the Security Council to the General Assembly and reflects the proper balance between these two main bodies of the United Nations.

The consideration by the General Assembly of the Security Council's report acquires special and increasing significance from the vital role of the Security Council in the international arena, especially in view of the increasing complexity of the international situation and the deterioration of peace and security in several regions in a manner that has redoubled the Council's activities and greatly increased its responsibilities. This has led to a great deal of justified interest in the Security Council's activities on the part of the Member States in particular and the international community in general.

Mr. Seniloli (Fiji) Vice-President took the Chair.

Egypt's delegation welcomes the report submitted by the Security Council to the General Assembly this year, in document A/49/2. In fact, the submission of this report periodically, on time, is in line with the responsibility and the mandate conferred on the members of the Security Council by the Member States of the Organization in accordance with Article 24 and the requirements of Article 15 of the Charter.

We also welcome the adoption of the report in an open meeting of the Security Council and its issuance as a limited circulation document before it is considered and adopted as is the case in all the other bodies of the United Nations. We also encourage the continued distribution of the monthly work programme of the Council to all United Nations missions as this contributes to the flow of information and welcome the listing of the Council's meetings in the Journal. All these measures, by themselves, constitute a step in the right direction towards the aim of increased transparency. However, such measures, for all their positive nature, do not rise to the level of our expectations.

There is an urgent need for further measures. This requires the members of the Security Council to continue to work for the adoption of additional measures to improve the Council's procedures in a manner that would meet the expectations and respond to the views and proposals of the Members of the General Assembly in this respect.

On many occasions, Egypt has called for the report of the Security Council to give an objective and analytical account of all the activities undertaken by the Council in discharging its responsibilities, particularly at a time when those responsibilities are increasing qualitatively and quantitatively. This means that the General Assembly, in its capacity as the world body, should be fully informed of the essence of the Council's work. This is a particularly urgent requirement in view of the fact that the Council, in conducting its business, resorts as a matter of routine to informal consultations, a practice which makes it difficult for the full membership of the Organization to obtain timely and open information on the Council's work.

Unfortunately, the Security Council's report under review this year is a conform copy of previous reports, with the exception of a more detailed introduction and two appendices: appendix VII containing communications from the President of the Security Council or the Secretary-General during the period covered by the report; and appendix VIII containing the reports of the Secretary-General issued during the period covered by the report.

Apart from these two innovations, which do not rise to the level of expectations of the majority of Member States, the report, regardless of its bulkiness, is not, in our estimation, a substantive or objective document that could be described as commensurate with the increasingly important role performed by the Security Council. Simply stated, the report is a compilation of the resolutions adopted, and various communications and documents issued during the period it covers, all of which are common knowledge as everyone has already seen and perused them. The report, on the other hand, is devoid of any analysis or evaluation of the resolutions adopted on the many disputes the Council has dealt with nor does it include any hint at any explanation that would shed any light, even a generalized sort of light on the closed informal consultations. Consequently, the report, in our opinion, falls short of satisfying the desire of the overwhelming majority of Member States for more clarity and understanding of the Council's thinking and motives. Therefore, it is not possible to analyse the Council's activities properly. Having said this, we must say that we stress this point because it is closely linked with the whole question of the representative nature of the Council and its political responsibility *vis-à-vis* the General Assembly. We all know that the first paragraph of Article 24 of the Charter states that the Security Council acts on behalf of the Member States and we realize that it is from this conferred responsibility that the Council derives its legitimacy.

The increased activity of the Security Council puts a great responsibility on the United Nations, a responsibility that is shared by all the Member States of the United Nations, not only from a political standpoint, but also in a material context. Consequently, the very least the Member States expect from the Council is a flow of objective and timely information. This leads us to highlight a few points which, unfortunately, have not been covered in the report: First, the activities of the subsidiary bodies of the Security Council, activities which are of interest to a large number of Member States; second, the implementation of the Council's resolutions on the issues it has dealt with; and third, an evaluation of peace-keeping operations. All these are important issues which, because of their impact on a large number of countries, should not be absent from a report that genuinely reflects the activities of the Security Council.

The dialogue between the General Assembly and the Security Council is vital and essential if these two main bodies are fully to discharge their responsibilities with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security. In this connection, it may be appropriate to recall that Article 11 of the Charter makes the maintenance of international peace and security a shared responsibility of the two bodies. The General Assembly is empowered to consider the general principles of cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, to discuss questions relating to such questions and to make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the Member States or to the Security Council or to both. It follows from this that the special responsibility vested in the Security Council with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security detracts not at all from the mandate of the General Assembly in this respect. Hence the importance of the indispensable balanced relationship between the two bodies if they are fully to discharge their responsibilities in a coordinated fashion.

In this connection and in view of the importance of such balance, the delegation of Egypt wishes to stress the following points.

First, there is a need for more transparency in the decision-making process in the Security Council. In order to achieve this, it is proposed that a greater number of formal meetings be held before decisions are taken. This would ensure the widest possible participation. Also, the countries directly concerned should be allowed to take part in the Council's informal consultations. A comprehensive information system should be set up to provide all Member States with information. This could include the circulation of bulletins to brief the Member States with regard to the informal consultations of the Security Council, together with any other practical measures that would ensure the flow of information.

Second, a more dynamic relationship should exist between the Security Council and the General Assembly. In this respect, the reports submitted by the Security Council to the General Assembly should be full of objective and timely information on the activities of the Council and of its subsidiary bodies. Exchange of views between the two bodies should be promoted through the institutionalization of consultations between the President of the General Assembly and the President of the Security Council. Furthermore, regular direct consultations between the Security Council and the troop-contributing countries should also be institutionalized with regard to the taking of decisions on the setting up and management of peace-keeping operations. The ideal means of guaranteeing the effectiveness of the Council's resolutions and ensuring their legitimacy can be found only in expanding the basis of participation by those States that are not members of the Security Council. In this connection, a number of initiatives have been made and we wish to support the joint initiative put forward by Argentina and New Zealand.

Finally, I wish to refer to the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council. Egypt has taken part in the debate held on agenda item 33 regarding the membership of the Security Council and in the work of the Open-ended Working Group and will continue to participate in trying to rectify the existing imbalances with the aim of enhancing the Security Council's effectiveness and credibility.

In conclusion, we wish to state that the spirit and letter of the Charter make it essential that the General Assembly's consideration of the Security Council's report should not be limited simply to taking note of the report without making the necessary recommendations. It is our hope that, in future, things will happen somewhat differently.

Mr. Kalpage (Sri Lanka): My delegation has listened with considerable interest to the introductory remarks of the President of the Security Council, Sir David Hannay, Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom. His introduction of the report of the Security Council before the General Assembly follows a welcome precedent, which we hope will also be a regular feature in future.

The list of speakers for this item this year is longer than that of last year. This indicates the growing interest the report of the Council is evoking. The debate should not be seen as an opportunity to pillory the Council. On the contrary, interest in the report reflects the strong desire among all Members to enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of the Council.

This is due to a number of factors: First, the United Nations, particularly through the Security Council, not only is now involved more deeply in fulfilling its traditional functions, but is entering into uncharted areas of activity which profoundly affect all States. Secondly, in the current international situation, which has, overall, been categorized as positive, a healthy feeling prevails that transparency is vital to promote effectively the purposes and principles of the Charter. Thirdly, the wider is the extent of understanding about Council decisions, the greater will be their acceptance and the better the prospect of decisions being efficiently and effectively implemented.

Apart from this, there is the basic but rather obvious fact that the membership of the United Nations has risen from 113 in 1965, when the present composition of the Council took effect, to 184 in 1994. The need to increase the membership of the Council has received near universal acceptance.

The report of the Council in document A/49/2 is a highly detailed compilation of decisions, resolutions and communications. It provides much useful documentary material. As Sir David Hannay himself said:

> "... in conjunction with other official documents of the Council ... it constitutes a reference guide." *(supra, p. 2)*

If nothing else, it illustrates the extent of the Security Council's range of activity, which has obviously been matched by a correspondingly wide interest in its work.

The report also briefly — all too briefly — refers in Chapter 28 to certain innovative procedures and working methods followed by the Council in recent months, particularly to increase transparency to enable non-members of the Security Council to have a fuller insight into its decision-making rationale. These need now to be formalized. The Open-ended Working Group on the Security Council has also discussed vital issues relating to needed increases in the Council's membership.

The report of the Security Council covers a 12-month period ending 15 June 1994. Discussions in the Working Group on the Security Council continued well beyond this date, its report being adopted only on 14 September 1994. For this reason, it may not have been possible for the Security Council to comment in its report on the conclusions of the Working Group. It could also be argued that the Security Council report is primarily meant to cover decisions which have been taken within its own Chamber. Yet, in the view of my delegation, it would be particularly appropriate if the Council found it possible in future reports to take cognizance of the considered views of the general membership of the United Nations, including the permanent members of the Council.

Related to the Council's report is another matter. Resolution 48/264, in its operative paragraph 4,

> "Invites the President of the General Assembly, following consultations, to propose appropriate ways and means to facilitate an in-depth discussion by the Assembly of matters contained in the reports submitted to it by the Security Council."

This resolution was adopted by consensus after long and difficult negotiations on the revitalization of the work of the General Assembly. We hope that the President of the Assembly will initiate consultations on this subject within the framework of the present agenda item, so that the Assembly can hold a constructive discussion on matters dealt with in the report submitted by the Council. We would suggest, as the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement did, that this item — item ll — be kept open to permit such consultations.

My delegation is certain that the Security Council would see the interest displayed in its report as being motivated by factors other than purely academic curiosity. We believe the Security Council should encourage, not disparage, this healthy interest in its work and provide in its future reports "a clear and informative account of its work" (*resolution 48/264, para.3*) to the fullest extent consistent with the Charter which, it bears repetition, has enjoined the Council to act on behalf of the entire membership of the United Nations.

Organization of work

The President: I should like to inform delegations that the Assembly will consider agenda item 39, "The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina", on Thursday, 3 November 1994 in the morning, instead of on Wednesday, 2 November 1994 as previously scheduled.

Agenda item 11 (*continued*)

Report of the Security Council (A/49/2)

Mr. Sardenberg (Brazil): The delegation of Brazil wishes to express its appreciation to Sir David Hannay, President of the Security Council for the month of October, for having introduced the report of the Security Council (A/49/2) to the General Assembly, covering the period from 16 June 1993 to 15 June 1994.

It is very gratifying for the delegation of Brazil to note that the practice which was inaugurated last year, when we were occupying the presidency of the Council for the same month, has been aptly continued by the delegation of the United Kingdom this year. We thank the President of the Council for the kind references he made to the initiative of my delegation and to myself. Likewise, I wish to thank other speakers who made similar references. It is our expectation that such a practice will be maintained and further improved in the coming years.

The submission of the annual report by the Security Council in accordance with Article 24, paragraph 3, of the Charter and its consideration by the General Assembly, in pursuance of Article 15, paragraph 1, represent a fundamental constitutional requirement enshrined in the Charter, which provides a privileged occasion for a comprehensive and in-depth dialogue between these two crucially important organs of our Organization.

In this regard, we welcome the call made in his introductory remarks by the President of the Council for

> "a substantive dialogue and interaction between these two principal organs of the United Nations, a dialogue which will, I hope, touch not just on the nature of the report presented to the Assembly today, but also on the substance of the issues before the Security Council". *(cf. supra., p. 1)*

It was precisely this very objective that inspired my delegation to introduce the report last year. In answer to this call, my delegation will gladly address today both the formal and the substantive aspects of the report of the Security Council.

With regard to the format of the report, the delegation of Brazil has always underscored the need to make the paperwork and procedures of the Council less opaque and more user-friendly *vis-à-vis* the membership at large of the Organization. In line with these concerns, during its mandate in the Council for the biennium 1993-1994, Brazil has been actively participating in the Informal Working Group on Documentation and Other Procedural Matters, whose efforts were instrumental in improving some of the working methods of the Council, and which have been referred to both in the statement made by the President of the Council and in the introduction of the report. We note with satisfaction that, as another step in enhancing the flow of communication between the Council and the General Assembly, the President of the Council started the practice of regularly briefing orally non-member delegations at a pre-arranged time and place. My delegation welcomes these improvements and encourages the Working Group earnestly to continue its endeavours to further make the documentation and procedures of the Council more transparent to the membership of the Organization.

While taking note of the disclaimer that the Security Council's report is not intended as a substitute for the official records of the Council, and that it rather constitutes a reference guide to its work, we cannot fail to underline its fundamental deficiency, namely that it only reports on the official proceedings of that body. In this connection, we point out that the introduction of the report mentions, for the first time, the frequency of informal consultations during the period, noting that the Council held 153 formal meetings, adopted 87 resolutions and issued 68 presidential statements, as against 252 informal consultations totalling some 353 hours of deliberations.

While this first and timid acknowledgement of the existence of informal consultations is a positive sign, it highlights a paradox — namely, that the report of the Security Council dedicates more than 500 pages to describing official proceedings, a great part of which is constituted by formal and formalized meetings lasting no more than five minutes each, whereas no indication is given about the contents of the 353 hours dedicated to 252 informal consultations, during which most of the truly substantive discussions were conducted. We therefore consider it essential that some appropriate format be devised to reflect the contents of the informal consultations in the Council's report in order to preserve the substance of these deliberations in some authoritative form.

My delegation is not oblivious to the need for a certain degree of confidentiality and informality in the deliberations of the Council in order to expedite its proceedings. However, recourse to such methods should be had with due criteria and not pushed to such extremes that could compromise the accountability and legitimacy of the Council *vis-à-vis* the membership of the Organization, on whose behalf it bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

More transparency does not necessarily mean less efficiency. While a smaller decision-making circle could perhaps arrive at conclusions more rapidly than a wider collegiate, hastily taken decisions do not necessarily translate into effective results. The responses to the complex challenges currently before the Council should be based on careful assessments and balanced measures. With the demise of the period of automatic alignments within and without the Council, different perspectives and contributions should be properly taken into account in the deliberations of the Council if it is to attain fair and lasting solutions.

The views of my delegation concerning ways and means to improve the reporting system of the Security Council have been presented on many previous occasions, in particular in our statement during the debate on agenda item 33. We intend to continue contributing to the improvement of the working methods of the Council, both here in the General Assembly and in the Security Council during our remaining period in that organ.

Having been elected during the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly to occupy one of the non-permanent seats of the Security Council for the period 1993 to 1994, Brazil has endeavoured to respond to the confidence bestowed by the international community. Our positions on the issues before the Council have been founded on respect for the principle of non-intervention, the upholding of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, the permanent search for the peaceful and negotiated settlement of disputes, the prevalence of the rule of law in the international public order, the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and active contribution to peace-keeping operations and other relevant activities of the Organization.

We have endeavoured to participate constructively in the deliberations of more than 20 situations placed before the Council during the period covered by this report. Moreover, our participation in the work of the subsidiary bodies, in particular the sanctions committees, was guided by a concern firmly to implement the relevant resolutions and decisions of the Council, without losing sight of the need to avoid unduly aggravating the situation of vulnerable populations and innocent third countries. We point out, in this regard, that the Committee on Yugoslavia alone, which is presided over by Brazil, has had to deal with more than 34,000 communications in 1993 and more than 45,000 communications so far in 1994, as reported by the Secretary-General in his annual report on the work of the Organization.

In the field of peace-keeping, we have participated in the activities of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador, the United Nations Angola Verification Mission, the United Nations Operation in Mozambique, the United Nations Protection Force and the United Nations Observer Mission in Uganda-Rwanda, and we are actively considering further participation in other operations. We should like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to all the selflessly dedicated and courageous personnel participating in the numerous peace-keeping operations of the Organization, many of them operating under extremely difficult and dangerous conditions.

In this regard, my delegation believes that the growing number and complexity of peace-keeping operations has made imperative a thorough rethinking on the principles and practices observed by the United Nations in this field. I point out, for instance, that while the Security Council is the organ competent for establishing such operations the great majority of Member States whose personnel take part in them are not represented on the Council. Moreover, the mandates set for many of these complex operations, involving a delicate imbrication of peace-keeping activities with humanitarian, electoral and development assistance, need to be more carefully considered by all parties concerned. This is undoubtedly a crucial area in which substantive dialogue and close interaction between the Security Council and Member States are required. We note with satisfaction that this month, at the initiative of the delegations of Argentina and New Zealand, the Council has considered useful steps to improve consultations between troop-contributing countries, members of the Security Council and the Secretariat. It is the expectation of my delegation that these steps will be implemented soon and further improved as necessary, and we stand ready to continue to cooperate in this regard.

Without addressing each of the situations contained in the Council's report, I should like to underscore some of the concerns that have guided our delegation during the deliberations in which it has participated.

First, my delegation has always advocated the need for the Council to explore all possible avenues for negotiation before resorting to enforcement actions under Chapter VII. By their exceptional nature, these enforcement actions should be used only in extreme cases and cannot constitute a precedent for any other situation. At the same time, when issuing warnings to parties in conflict, the Council should exercise utmost restraint in employing language making implicit or explicit reference to coercive measures of dubious effectiveness. We would rather prefer to see the Council making fuller use of its diplomatic tools, such as special missions, rapporteurs and other creative measures, in order to play a more proactive role alongside the mediation activities of the Secretary-General.

Secondly, we continue to hold that the authority of the Security Council is not self-constituted. It originates from a delegation of powers conferred to it by the whole membership of the Organization, in accordance with paragraph 1 of Article 24 of the Charter, as has been mentioned several times during this debate. For this reason, its powers and responsibilities under the Charter should be strictly construed and cannot be created, recreated or reinterpreted, creatively or otherwise, by decisions of the Council itself. The competence of the Council should not be extended to matters not directly linked to the maintenance of international peace and security, in particular when it involves legal and judicial principles. Not being a judicial organ, there is no way the Council could claim a jurisprudence or a system of precedents for its decisions. It is our considered view that the Security Council should not invoke Chapter VII of the Charter to take decisions in matters that would amount to amending the Charter itself by extending its field of competence.

Thirdly, we firmly hold that all decisions and resolutions of the Council must be strictly complied with by all parties and by the Council itself. The Council should not allow selective implementation of its resolutions nor adopt decisions only on selected situations. It should demand full compliance with the terms of its relevant resolutions as well as undertake to fulfil promptly its own obligations under these resolutions. Above all, for the sake of its credibility, the Council should refrain from reinterpreting its own terms at different moments at its convenience.

Fourthly, the Council should avoid the proliferation of instances in which it delegates enforcement actions to third parties without clear mechanisms for the control of and accountability for such actions. Cooperation, coordination and other arrangements with relevant regional organizations are to be encouraged, but they cannot constitute a substitute for the fulfilment of the Council's own primary responsibility in the maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the Charter.

Last but not least, the Council must act and be seen as acting impartially in the performance of its responsibilities. It should be ready to take measures against parties that fail to comply with its resolutions and to support those who comply. In particular, it should avoid a purportedly balanced approach that would eventually only favour those who seek to postpone the fulfilment of their obligations.

These were some, though not all, of the main considerations that guided my delegation in addressing the different situations described in the report of the Security Council, and we hope this will clarify for the Members of the Organization the positions adopted by Brazil.

In closing, my delegation would like to underscore once again the critical importance of substantive dialogue and interaction between the Security Council and the General Assembly. Such exercise should not be restricted to the occasion of the formal consideration by the General Assembly of the Security Council's annual report but should be an ongoing, in-depth exercise stemming from the constitutional responsibilities of these two organs in pursuance of their respective functions and powers as enshrined in the Charter.

In January 1995, there will be a second Summit-level meeting of the Security Council to review the international situation from the perspective of its competence. In October 1995, there will be a Summit meeting of all States Members of the Organization to assess the realization of the purposes and principles of the United Nations throughout its 50 years of activity. It is our expectation that these occasions will create further momentum for the intensification of the dialogue and interaction between the Security Council and the General Assembly, with a view to strengthening the Organization as a whole for the benefit of all its Member States.

Mr. Mumbengegwi (Zimbabwe): Let me at the outset lend my delegation's support to the statement delivered by the Permanent Representative of Indonesia on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries.

The report before us in document A/49/2 is prepared in accordance with Article 15, paragraph 1, and Article 24, paragraph 3, of the Charter of the United Nations. Paragraph 1 of Article 15 provides that the General Assembly shall receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council; these reports shall include an account of the measures that the Security Council has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security. Paragraph 3 of Article 24 provides that the Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration.

Clearly, the intention in the Charter of our Organization is that the Security Council should be fully accountable to the General Assembly through annual reports or, where necessary, through special reports. In fact, paragraph 1 of Article 24 of the Charter makes it abundantly clear that the general membership confers on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security "in order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations". Thus, in carrying out its duties under this responsibility, the Security Council acts on behalf of the general membership.

The mandate is clearly given to the Security Council under the Charter solely in order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations. The authors of the Charter correctly recognized that urgent matters of international peace and security could not be expeditiously dealt with by a large and universal body such as this General Assembly. Thus the annual and special reports of the Security Council were meant to give the General Assembly the opportunity to assess and evaluate the work of the Security Council and provide guidance as might be required.

Regrettably, the report of the Security Council to the General Assembly remains a compendium of documents and resolutions that have passed through the Security Council. It is completely lacking in transparency and totally devoid of analysis. This report, as those who have spoken before me have also indicated, can be of use only to historians, librarians, archivists and academic researchers, and certainly not to this General Assembly.

The format and content of this report might have made sense during the cold war years, when it was difficult for the Security Council to agree on anything of substance and in some cases even of procedure. However, we now have to accept that in this post-cold-war era, where it is now possible for the Security Council to reach consensus on a wide range of issues, the report before us is not only anachronistic but also an unacceptable relic of the past.

A report of the Security Council to the General Assembly should, in our view, contain a background of the issues on which the Security Council has deliberated; a record of developments on each of these issues as they unfolded; the nature of the informal deliberations of the Council; and the reasons behind each decision that the Council took. We know that all too often Security Council decisions are arrived at through informal consultations among Council members, from which the general membership, on whose behalf the Security Council acts, is barred. It is therefore most disappointing to receive, year after year, a report that fails to shed any light on the basis of action of the Security Council.

The format and content of the report of the Security Council to the General Assembly underline the urgent need for the reform and restructuring of the Security Council so as to ensure equality and democracy in its composition, procedures and practices. Its decision-making process must display greater transparency through wider participation of the general membership both in informal consultations and at formal meetings. We believe that once this shroud of secrecy is lifted from the work of the Security Council it will be much easier for the Council to present to the General Assembly the report expected under the Charter, which underlines the accountability of the Security Council to the general membership.

We note with concern that some of the provisions of Article 15, paragraph 1, remain a dead letter. In accordance with that Article, the Security Council should submit, in addition to the annual report, special reports on issues affecting international peace and security. I cannot recall that in the years I have represented Zimbabwe here at the United Nations there has been a single special report on issues affecting international peace and security; yet there have been numerous upheavals and crises in various parts of the world during this period.

Perhaps if the Security Council had provided the General Assembly with a special report on Rwanda before the events of April this year, collaboration between the General Assembly and the Security Council might have averted a tragedy of the magnitude we subsequently witnessed. My delegation was appalled by the manner in which the Security Council handled the question of Rwanda, and it believes that the Security Council's apparent selectivity and double standards in addressing the various issues on its agenda should be avoided in the future. Indeed, there could well have been compelling reasons for the Council to act as it did; if so, one would expect a full account in the annual report so that the Assembly could try to find ways and means of avoiding similar catastrophes in future. Regrettably, after reading the report of the Security Council to the General Assembly we are no wiser.

The General Assembly must commend the Security Council on the tenacity it has displayed in dealing with the intractable problems of the former Yugoslavia. Despite the many setbacks and the complexity of this conflict as well as the continued lack of agreement among the parties, the Security Council has not thrown up its hands in despair, nor has it threatened to leave the parties to consume themselves in internecine civil war. We know that the achievement of peace requires patience, resources and an unwavering will on the part of our Organization.

In this regard, it is of great concern that the Security Council does not seem to have applied itself with the same tenacity, unwavering will or generosity with peace-keeping resources with regard to the conflicts in Angola, Somalia, Liberia and Rwanda. It appears that in regard to those conflicts resolutions emanating from the Council constantly threaten the imminent withdrawal of international assistance. The general membership expects explanations from the Security Council. Where would one expect to find them if not in the annual report of the Security Council to the general membership? Regrettably, after reading the report we are no wiser.

My delegation would like to underline, as others have done, that it is better to commit scarce resources to preventing conflicts or addressing them in their infancy than to be compelled to do so when they have reached catastrophic proportions, when even greater resources are invariably required.

Mr. Laclaustra (Spain) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Security Council is today submitting to the General Assembly the report on its work from 16 June 1993 to 15 June 1994. This report was adopted by the Council on 18 October last. The President of the Security Council, Sir David Hannay, has introduced the report on behalf of the members of the Council and has pointed out some innovations that were made in drafting it. In our view, these innovations have contributed to improving and enhancing the text.

In this year's consideration of the report we are continuing the process, embarked on last year, of making improvements in the drafting and publication of the report with a view to enhancing the transparency of the Council's activities and the level of awareness of those activities by Members of the Organization.

In this regard, the Working Group on documentation and other procedural questions, a subsidiary body of the Council which was established in June 1993 and which has been meeting regularly since then, has played a very positive role, in conjunction with the Secretariat, whose concrete effect can be seen in this year's report.

Last year we endorsed the expansion of the descriptive content of the introduction to the report. Now we have observed further improvements in the same direction which should make it easier to study the report on the Council's work. I am referring to accounts of the formal meetings of the Council, systematically grouped by agenda items, together with resolutions and statements adopted with respect to these items, as well as the inclusion of information on the activities of the Council's subsidiary bodies.

Also included, as appendices to the report, are communications by the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council, as well as reports of the Secretary-General issued during the period under consideration.

In addition, the rationalization of the Council's agenda has continued. The list of issues submitted to the Council contained 215 items on 15 June 1993 as opposed to 150 on 15 June 1994, even though the Council had to address 17 new items during that period.

It is only fair to acknowledge the improvements I have mentioned, which offer genuine grounds for satisfaction. However, the Council is aware that there is a need to continue working to ensure that these innovations and improvements become more substantive.

It is clear that from a procedural standpoint the formal meetings of the Council are the place and the occasion for the production of its records, in the context of its mandate of peace-keeping and maintenance of international peace and security. At the same time, we must acknowledge that the Council does a great deal of its work in informal consultations. In fact, matters of great practical importance, such as the review of the various sanctions regimes imposed under Chapter VII of the Charter, are not the subject of a formal decision by the Council when the result of those deliberations involves no change in them.

It would therefore be appropriate — in terms of both the transparency and the faithful, realistic description of the Council's work — to speak in the report, at least in statistical terms, of the Council's informal consultations and the items discussed in them. This would add nothing that could give rise to misinterpretation, as the agenda of informal consultations is set out daily in the *Journal of the United Nations*.

Thus far we have been speaking of a report on the work of the Security Council. It includes descriptions of records, of the Council's meetings, of the communications sent to or by the Council, and of the items of which it is seized. One might consider how the Council could put this information together in analytical form and convey to the General Assembly its assessment of its own work. This would have two advantages. It would enhance the quality, not just the quantity, of the information provided by the Council, and it would yield a sort of authoritative interpretation of the Council's activities by the very body that carried them out. Thus, other interpretations would have to use the Council's own assessment as a point of reference, which would limit biased perceptions at variance with the actual work of the Council.

Those issues are part of a broader debate aimed at enabling all Members of the United Nations — on whose behalf, under the terms of Article 24 of the Charter, the Council acts — to participate more in the work of the Council. Specifically, it is a question of broadening the machinery and procedures for consultations to take into account the views of States contributing to peace-keeping operations in situations that affect them directly, as those views are a most important part of the very conception of an operation. The Security Council is currently considering this question on the basis of the proposal submitted by the delegations of Argentina and New Zealand; in the view of the Spanish delegation, this is of the greatest interest.

Moreover, last week the President of the Security Council began the practice of reporting weekly to Members of the Organization on the Council's informal consultations on the matters before it. We view this as a positive step, and consider that the Working Group on Documentation and Procedural Matters could continue its consideration of the quantitative and qualitative augmentation of the flow of information to Member States not members of the Security Council.

The Council has considerably expanded its activities in recent years, addressing issues that increasingly affect all States Members of the Organization. Increasing the degree to which non-members are informed about and participate in the Council's decisions would only bolster the legitimacy of those decisions and improve the prospects of their implementation. During its term as a member of the Council over the past 22 months, Spain has tried to make a constructive contribution to that end, and will continue to do so until the end of its tenure.

Mr. Bagatsing (Philippines): At the outset, my delegation joins other delegations in thanking the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, in his capacity as President of the Security Council, for introducing the annual report of the Council and for presenting the various measures the Council has taken to make its work more transparent and accessible to non-members.

My delegation received the latest annual report of the Security Council to the General Assembly just in time for this debate, and we thank the members of the Council for their efforts. Nevertheless, the situation would have been much more encouraging if the report had been received earlier so that delegations and the General Assembly could have had more time to consider its substance and content and adequately prepare for the debate.

More important, however, in paragraph 4 of its resolution 48/264, the General Assembly invites the President of the Assembly to propose appropriate ways and means to facilitate an in-depth discussion by the Assembly of matters contained in the reports submitted to it by the Council. This would be particularly relevant in the case of the annual report. We therefore urge the President to undertake such consultations with delegations at the earliest possible date with a view to enabling the General Assembly, in line with resolution 48/264, to conduct such an in-depth discussion on matters contained in the report, particularly on those of an urgent character or those commanding wide or general interest. It is particularly for this reason that we fully support the proposal to keep this item open after today's debate.

As it stands now, even if we desired to conduct either a meaningful exchange of views or the in-depth discussion called for in resolution 48/264, the present organizational set-up for our debate is not conducive to such discussion and does not provide sufficient time for it. We believe that a more appropriate mechanism should be established, to give delegations and the General Assembly sufficient time to express their views on the matters in the report and, where appropriate, to translate them into recommendations.

The format for considering the report is one aspect of this issue. The other pertains to its content. Although we welcome the recent efforts of the Council to improve the presentation of its annual report, we believe that the possibility of having a substantive debate on the report would be considerably enhanced and facilitated if certain improvements in content and presentation were made by the Security Council.

In this regard, in paragraph 3 of resolution 48/264, the General Assembly encourages the Council, in its submission of reports to the Assembly, to provide a clear and informative account of its work. We believe that this could be accomplished by presenting a more substantive and explanatory annual report, and not just what is essentially a compilation of official proceedings and decisions. In other words, the report should include, among other things, and in an appropriate format, the substance or a summary of the closed informal consultations of the whole on the key matters covered in the report, especially those informal consultations of the whole which led to the adoption of a decision or course of action on those key matters.

What is most important in this matter would be information on the reasons why and the circumstances under which a particular issue was placed on the Council's agenda, and the elements or factors which led to a specific course of action on that issue. This would, in our view, enable the General Assembly and the membership at large to conduct a more meaningful exchange of views on the issues in the report, as a clearer appreciation would be gained of the Council's deliberations and of the thinking of its members which led to decisions or actions on these critical issues.

We also believe that the annual report could include a section containing an outline or preliminary forecast of the annual work programme of the Council, particularly on issues identified in the current report as requiring the Council's continued debate or further action.

The period covered should also be timely, as stated in resolution 48/264. Current and urgent issues should be particularly highlighted so that the Assembly could, if it desires, focus its discussions on matters under consideration by the Council.

The Council should also seriously consider providing more frequent special reports to the General Assembly in accordance with Article 15 of the Charter. This would, among other things, provide the General Assembly with a continuous, up-to-date and authoritative source of information on the Security Council's decisions and activities, and would facilitate any debate on them.

Finally, we look forward to having in the near future a truly substantive debate on the issues in the Council's annual report, as envisioned in resolution 48/264, not only as a means of revitalizing debate on this item but also as a convincing manifestation of the accountability of the Security Council to the general membership, as set forth in the Charter.

Mr. Azwai (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)(*interpretation from Arabic*): The annual report of the Security Council to the General Assembly was the subject of considerable criticism at the last two sessions. This criticism stemmed from the fact that the report is a copy of already known resolutions and decisions and is merely a narrative, one that does not deal with a considerable part of the Council's work.

With the aim of reforming the working methods and procedures of the Council, many proposals have been put forward. Today, as the General Assembly examines the Council's report to this session, we note that the Council has paid some attention to such proposals. However, we still find that what has been done does not rise to the level of expectations of the Member States. My country's delegation wishes to stress the need for the Council to carry out all the proposed reforms, and the need for its reports to be substantive and to respond fully to all that has been called for by Member States as clearly set forth in General Assembly resolution 48/264.

The submission by the Security Council of its annual report to the General Assembly is stipulated by Article 24 of the Charter, with the aim of enabling the Members of the United Nations, which agreed that the Security Council should act on their behalf, to consider the report, to study it and to make whatever comments they may deem proper. The aim of that provision is also to enable the Member States to ascertain whether or not the Security Council, in carrying out its functions, strictly acts within its competence under the Charter and whether or not, when dealing with international questions, it takes into consideration the views and positions of the Member States.

As in the past, the Security Council report to the present session, which is now before us in document A/49/2, contains all the resolutions, decisions, and statements adopted by the Council in the course of the year. Nevertheless, the report is neither comprehensive nor detailed. It does not show, even in brief terms, the motives underlying those decisions and resolutions and does not make clear how they were arrived at, particularly those resolutions adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter, which originate from the wishes of certain States — especially the United States of America - which would exploit the Council to serve their own aims and purposes. In order for future reports to be comprehensive and to truly reflect all the activities of the Security Council, my country's delegation believes that the Council should remedy all these lacunae.

In addition, the report should set forth in detail the results of the work of the Council's subsidiary bodies and should set forth the discussions that take place in its informal consultations, since we assume that the Council has nothing to hide with regard to what takes place in such consultations. If such is indeed the case, then the Security Council's report should contain what goes on in those informal consultations. Furthermore, such informal consultations should not be the rule but the limited exception in order for the Council to revert to the fundamental rule of its work, namely, more formal and open meetings. That would enable Member States to make clear their positions on matters before the Council prior to and not after the start of the decision-making process, as is the current practice, so that the Member States will not continue to face a *fait accompli* over which their views have no influence whatever.

The end of the cold war ushered in a new era of cooperation in the international arena, which aims, *inter alia*, at better balance between the activities of the organs of the United Nations and at ensuring that those organs, especially the Security Council, should exercise their functions in a democratic fashion within the competence set forth in the Charter, without any hegemony or influence by any State. Although these demands have been repeated and reconfirmed on many occasions in many forums — including the General Assembly, which expresses the will of all Member States — we are concerned that some Security Council actions show that it has observed neither those demands nor the terms of its own competence. A look at the Council's activities during the period covered by its current report reveals that the Council has increasingly tended to encroach on the functions of other United Nations organs. This is an unacceptable tendency, because it is unacceptable for the Security Council to use the definition of what constitutes a threat to international peace and security as a pretext for encroaching on the competence of other bodies, as is the case with regard to human-rights issues.

It is also untenable for the Council to act in haste or to continue to adopt resolutions on questions that are still being considered by other United Nations bodies. As a case in point, we must mention what has come to be known as the Lockerbie problem, which is still before the International Court of Justice. The International Court has yet to rule on the problem. Libya has had recourse to the Court as the question is purely legal, and not political, contrary to the United States insistence and its forcing the Security Council to accept that view. The United States has pressured the Council into adopting resolutions against Libya which, to say the least, are arbitrary, unjust, run counter to the Charter of the United Nations and are in flagrant breach of international law and international conventions, in particular, the Montreal Convention, which is the only instrument dealing with questions of international civil aviation and whose provisions are quite clear.

To add insult to injury, the United States of America has insisted on dealing with the question under Chapter VII of the Charter, which concerns threats to international peace and security. My country finds it really strange to pick out Chapter VII and apply it to this incident, which is nothing more than a legal dispute, at a time when others who violate and refuse to implement Security Council resolutions, and whose actions, to say the least, can be qualified as real threats to international peace and security, are exempt from the application of that Chapter. We are, of course, speaking here of the Israelis, who are exempt from action under Chapter VII because of the hegemony of the United States and its pursuance of a policy of double standards with regard to the questions dealt with by the Security Council.

While the Charter of the United Nations encourages the settling of disputes by peaceful means, it is worth noting that one of the resolutions mentioned in the Security Council's report under review, namely resolution 883 (1993), was adopted in continuation of a case that was dealt with under Chapter VII of the Charter, before the mechanism provided for in Chapter VI had been properly used. It also bears noting that the rule of holding consultations with the States concerned was not applied. We know that in a specific case, namely the Lockerbie question, the Security Council ignored the need to engage in such consultations and turned a deaf ear to the views voiced by my country and to the positions taken by international and regional organizations on how best to deal with this question. As a result of the intransigence of three of its permanent members, the Council had to deal with this question through the imposition of coercive unjustified measures that run counter to many of the General Assembly's resolutions, including resolution 44/215, which calls for refraining from applying restrictions, blockades and embargoes against developing countries as a form of political and economic coercion that affects their economic and social development and aims at forcing such countries to change their internal and foreign policies in line with the wishes of major Powers that would impose their tutelage on the world. My country's position is that these dangerous trends should not be ignored or acquiesced in.

It is imperative to stand up to attempts by certain permanent members of the Security Council to transform it into something like their own exclusive club, by excluding other members and by conducting most of the Council's business among themselves, with the aim of using the Council to achieve their own political objectives through the obstruction of the settlement of disputes by peaceful means and by dealing with certain differences through the adoption of coercive measures.

Furthermore, my delegation believes that there is an urgent need to reconsider the working methods of the committees established by the Security Council, especially those established by means of resolutions adopted under Chapter VII of the Charter, including the Committee established under resolution 748 (1992) which has become a Committee devoted to hurting and punishing the Libyan people.

At a time when many Libyans are dying daily because of serious illnesses and road accidents, a member of the Committee, namely the delegation of the United States of America, is reluctant even to respond to requests for approval of organizing flying ambulances, which are exempted from the air embargo. That delegation uses the innovation of the Committee's taking decisions by consensus to intentionally delay its replies to many medical treatment requests, without giving any reasons. This procrastination has deprived many Libyan intensive-care patients of the chance of treatment abroad. As a matter of fact, this new type of "veto" has caused the death of many patients, including two little girls, Rima Saleh Abdel Rahman and Safaa Ali Abdel Rasool, as well as other children, old men and pregnant women. In addition, it is really surprising that, through its procrastination and delays in answering requests submitted to it for authorizing the arrangement of flights for Heads of State and Government who wish to visit the Jamahiriya using their own private planes, the Committee is trying to impose more restrictions on Libya and hamper its attempts at enhancing cooperation with other countries.

In discharging its main responsibilities in maintaining international peace and security, the Security Council should neither set itself apart from the other bodies of the United Nations nor set itself above them as if it were superior to all those other United Nations bodies. The sound approach should be consonant with the fact that members of the Council, in exercising their functions, are expected to transcend their national affiliations and keep in mind always that they act not only on behalf of the groups they represent but also on behalf of the Members of the United Nations as a whole. In order for the members of the Council to guarantee that the resolutions it adopts and enumerates in its annual report truly reflect the collective will of the international community, they should credibly make sure that in its dealings, the Council applies the principles of the Charter consistently, not selectively, and addresses international problems fairly and objectively. They should always keep in mind the statement of the Secretary-General in paragraph 82 of his report entitled "An Agenda for Peace" (A/47/277):

> "The principles of the Charter must be applied consistently, not selectively, for if the perception should be of the latter, trust will wane and with it the moral authority which is the greatest and most unique quality of that instrument."

The practices of the Security Council have in many aspects been strange indeed. In our view, they do not really reflect the position of the Member States, on whose behalf the Council acts. These are extremely dangerous precedents. The crash of an American plane and the accusation that two people from a certain country have something to do with this crash has been referred to the Security Council, which is forced into considering the matter, though it has nothing whatsoever to do with the Council's mandate and functions, as we have already stated.

In addition, we see major Powers that are permanent members of the Security Council and, as such, are supposed to bear more responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security pressurize the Council into violating the Charter and infringing on the independence of the country of the two suspects, asking that they be surrendered to be tried before the courts of those Powers, which is a dangerous precedent that encroaches on the independence of all small countries, not only Libya. In addition, pushing the Council into adopting a resolution to invade an independent country to restore to power a deposed President under the pretext of protecting democracy is a very dangerous and unprecedented act, a flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of a State and an act of contempt for the freedom of peoples. Would the Security Council return every President deposed by his people, anywhere in the world, or was it the emigration problem that prompted the United States to use the Security Council and the United Nations as camouflage to stem this emigration by occupying its source?

My country wishes to alert all the countries of the world gathered together here in this Hall to the grave nature of such practices. Unless the world stands up to such excesses, the major Powers, especially the United States of America, will not hesitate to use the Security Council for realizing their own objectives, regardless of the fact that this is bound to undermine trust in the United Nations and its impartiality and steer it, sooner or later, towards the fate of the League of Nations. This is a fate we, the small peoples, do not wish for our world Organization in which we have placed all our hopes for the protection of our sovereignty and independence and for preventing the powerful from preying on us while using the United Nations as a cover for their excesses.

Mr. Khoshroo (Islamic Republic of Iran): My delegation has reviewed the report (A/49/2) of the Security Council to the General Assembly covering the period from 16 June 1993 to 15 June 1994. It is a matter of regret that it took more than four months for the Council to adopt its report and present it to the General Assembly, leaving the entire membership only a few days to evaluate the way in which the Council handled its responsibilities during the past year.

As a principal organ of the United Nations, entrusted with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council should act on behalf of Member States in carrying out its duties, as is provided for in the United Nations Charter. As the Secretary-General stated in his report on the work of the Organization, the increased participation in the consideration in the General Assembly of the item now before us proves that Member States are justifiably interested in the work of the Security Council. The question of the Council's accountability to the entire membership is therefore the foremost element in the smooth functioning of the Council. If the Council ignores this very fact its credibility will face serious damage. Moreover, although the role and agenda of the Security Council have been expanded in the post-cold-war era, the Council needs to be more accountable to the general membership.

Article 15 of the Charter gives the General Assembly the responsibility of receiving and considering reports from the Security Council. Moreover, Article 24 provides that the Security Council shall submit annual reports to the General Assembly for its consideration. Both Articles underline the importance of the Security Council's obligations in regard to proper submission of its reports. It is repeatedly emphasized by a great majority of Member States that the annual reports of the Security Council should be characterized by a comprehensive and integrated analysis of the issues on its agenda and of the approaches that the Council adopts in addressing matters of substance.

Unfortunately, the Council's present report still lacks any explanation of its decisions and any assessment of its actions. Rather, it is a compilation of symbols, resolutions and chronologies of issues already available to Member States, and omits the proceedings of the Council in informal consultations, as well as of its subsidiary organs. Such reports cannot meet the minimum expectations of those Member States that are not represented in the Council. The submission of a report that fails to address matters of substance, together with the Council's current practice of holding more closed meetings than formal meetings, has aggravated the lack of transparency in its work. There is no doubt that the introduction of transparency into the Council's activities and democratization of its decision-making process would enhance the credibility of the United Nations system as a whole. In fact, the Council should attempt to gain the confidence and trust of the general membership so as to be able to act on its behalf. With regard to the convening of informal briefings by the President of the Council, my delegation hopes that these will go beyond procedural matters and touch the substance of the issues being discussed in the Council.

Prince Sisowath Sirirath (Cambodia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

It is important that any consideration of the work of the Security Council include a review of the Council's approach to threats to international peace and security. Unfortunately, the Council's adoption of selective approaches and its application of double standards have not only undermined its credibility, but have also prevented it from dealing effectively with clear cases of aggression. Furthermore, lack of political will on the part of some Powers has created situations in which the Council has been unable to implement its own resolutions.

In conclusion, I should like to emphasize — as my delegation has done previously — the importance of implementing resolution 48/264 on the revitalization of the work of the Assembly, in which, among other things, the President of the General Assembly is invited to propose ways and means of facilitating an in-depth discussion by the Assembly of matters contained in the reports submitted to it by the Security Council. In this context, we firmly believe that consultations should be undertaken so as to continue consideration of this agenda item.

Mr. Sucharipa (Austria): Austria highly appreciates the fact that this report of the Security Council to the General Assembly, like the last one, was introduced by the Member State currently holding the presidency of the Council. This follow-up to the initiative taken by the delegation of Brazil during its presidency in October 1993 is a clear manifestation of the political will to enhance the relationship between the Security Council and the membership of the United Nations at large, pursuant to and in accordance with Article 24 of the Charter. By presenting the report, the President of the Security Council, on behalf of the Council's members, demonstrates awareness of the Council's particular position *vis-à-vis* the General Assembly, as well as readiness to enter into a dialogue with the Assembly.

The work accomplished by the Security Council during the period under consideration deserves high appreciation. The voluminous document in front of us speaks for itself. The Security Council has become what the founding fathers of this Organizations wanted it to be — the cornerstone of all efforts to maintain and restore international peace and security. Heavy political demands on the Council often lead to more and more resolutions, declarations or statements on issues before the Council, which then all too soon find their way into the archives without having had a real impact on political developments. Thus — to sound a note of caution — a more selective approach might enhance the authority of the Security Council.

Security Council resolutions are effective only when they gain political relevance outside this building, when parties to a conflict not only take note of them, but also abide by them — in short, when, through Security Council decisions, concrete contributions can be made to facilitate a political solution or to stabilize a volatile situation.

Legitimacy and representativeness are important values for a Council acting on behalf of all States Members of the Organization in carrying out its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. These values call for increased interaction, wherever appropriate, between the Security Council and States that are not members of the Council. We listened with great interest to the relevant remarks made today by the President of the Council.

In this context two main elements should be taken into account.

Certainly, in order to ensure the necessary privacy for constructive discussions and negotiations, deliberations in closed meetings will remain necessary. However, in the interest both of the Security Council and of the entire membership, a certain balance between privacy and transparency has to be achieved in order to pave the way for a possible feedback from the international community, as represented in the General Assembly, on the Security Council's work.

We therefore welcome the recent steps taken by the Council towards better accessibility to information. In this context, we appreciate the initiative taken by the British presidency last week for briefings on a regular and more formal basis.

Furthermore, Council members should continue to ensure an increased and intensified informal information-flow towards other Members of the General Assembly, and especially towards Members from respective regions on issues of particular concern to them.

As the second element in the context of an improved flow of information, delegations with a special interest in particular political situations dealt with by the Security Council should, at an early stage of the Security Council's decision-making process, have and make use of the possibility of offering their views and making an input into the Council's work. This is especially true for countries which, due, *inter alia*, to their regional proximity, are politically concerned by a given conflict.

Furthermore, during the discussion of agenda item 33 some delegations stressed that it is important to have consultations when economic sanctions and comparable preventive and enforcement measures are considered. This process should include an advance assessment of possible negative effects on the economies of neighbouring countries and an analysis of possible means to counteract them. They should not, however, impede the decision-making as such, whenever the imposition of sanctions is required in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

Austria, as a country with a long-standing tradition in United Nations peace-keeping, has a special interest in a closer cooperation and dialogue between the Security Council, the Secretariat and troop-contributing countries. We therefore welcome the statement made by the President of the Security Council on 3 May 1994 in which it was stressed that:

> "The Security Council is conscious of the need for enhanced consultations and exchange of information with troop-contributing countries regarding peace-keeping operations, including their planning, management and coordination, particularly when significant extensions in an operations's mandate are in prospect." (*S/PRST/1994/22, p. 3*)

Having witnessed some improvements recently, my delegation appreciates initiatives which have been taken in this context, in particular by the delegations of New Zealand and Argentina, and we are glad to hear that these initiatives are about to yield concrete results. We would again like to stress the importance we attach to strong and sustainable working relations with troop-contributors.

My delegation is fully aware of the work that had to be done by the Secretariat to prepare the report before us. We also appreciate certain changes which have been introduced in order to make the information contained in the annual report more easily accessible. The report contains a very accurate listing of official documents issued by the Security Council during the period under consideration and, as such, it is certainly a helpful tool for delegations, and perhaps even more for students of current history.

Finally, I should like once again to assure the members of the Security Council, and in particular the President, of our appreciation for their dedication to the highly sensitive work done by the Council throughout the year and for their contribution to this debate — a debate which we consider to be of great importance because it constitutes a dialogue between the General Assembly and the Security Council and will certainly enhance and strengthen the relationship between the two organs in the interest of us all.

Mr. Albin (Mexico) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: We attach particular importance to the report submitted by the Security Council to the General Assembly under Articles 15 and 24 of the Charter. We consider this to be the essential link in communications between the Security Council and the most universal body of the United Nations in the fundamental issue of the maintenance of international peace and security.

We are pleased that this was the second time the report was adopted in an open meeting of the Council. We also express our gratitude to Sir David Hannay, Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom and President of the Security Council this month, for his introduction of the report to the Assembly. We believe that these two features, initiated last year under Brazil's presidency, are contributing to wider dialogue between the two organs.

This year's report contains a more extensive introduction, in which we note a determination to improve the organization and presentation of issues that the Council has discussed or deliberated on. We find the brief account of the activities of the Council's subsidiary organs quite helpful, particularly those dealing with the sanctions Committees, whose importance has recently increased. We also appreciate the effort to incorporate in the report two new appendices — appendix VII, listing the communications from the President of the Security Council or the Secretary-General; and appendix VIII, listing the reports of the Secretary-General issued during the period covered by the report.

These efforts have no doubt contributed to improving the channels of communication between the General Assembly and the Security Council. However, a great deal remains to be done. In our view, presentation of the report should not be simply a formal fulfilment of an obligation. Rather, its objective should be to provide complete information to the Assembly. We would like the document before us to contain elements of an evaluation that would enable us to grasp the basis of the Council's decisions and actions. We acknowledge that additional information is provided in the introduction, but the present document still does not enable the General Assembly to consider the matter fully.

In the period covered by the report — that is, from 16 June 1993 to 15 June 1994 — a number of important events have remained on the international scene, and many of them have been considered by the Security Council. Given the number and substance of the items on the Council's agenda, the States Members of the United Nations have a pressing need to analyse and assess the actions taken and the decisions adopted by the Council on their behalf. It is only natural that we should be increasingly interested in its work and in the way it functions, as well as in the rationale for its decisions.

Enhancing the transparency of the Security Council's methods of work and strengthening the effectiveness of its decisions are among the fundamental issues to be addressed by the Open-ended Working Group on the Question of Equitable Representation on and Increase in the Membership of the Security Council. This is reflected in the efforts being made to ensure more direct, transparent and timely communication between the Council and the Assembly.

Last year as we addressed this item we suggested that it would be useful to have the United Nations *Journal* indicate items to be taken up in private informal consultations of the Council. We are now convinced that this has been most useful for all delegations and has proved to be a sound practice adopted by the Council. The fears of certain parties were unwarranted and this has in no way affected the work of the Council.

An exchange of information between the Council and delegations has been taking place but in a disorderly fashion and with great difficulty. After private consultations of the Council we believe that delegations should be informed of what has happened in an organized way as they seek daily to follow up the work of that body. The Council should in the interests of all adopt measures to strengthen communication links. It is precisely for this reason that we welcome the fact that last Thursday the President of the Council, Sir David Hannay, held an informal meeting with delegations to report on the activities of the Council, and he added that there was a wish for this exchange to take place periodically. We encourage the Council to continue to adopt further practical measures so as to enhance dialogue and interaction with other Members.

Another proposal we mentioned earlier refers to the effective presentation of special reports as provided for in the Charter. There are issues of great interest to all about which we would like to have more information and on which the Security Council could report to the General Assembly in greater detail and in a more timely fashion. Furthermore, we believe that the submission of quarterly reports could help to expand communication channels. A special rapporteur of the Council appointed to report to Member States would also improve cooperation between Members and the Council.

We would also like to see a deepening of the fruitful exchanges between the President of the Security Council and regional groups. We are all aware of the complexity of peace-keeping operations, and for that reason we endorse enhanced communication between troop- and personnel-contributing countries and the Council as proposed recently by Argentina and New Zealand. We are aware of the impact of the imposition of sanctions on third countries and therefore believe that a dialogue between them and the Council, as provided in Article 50 of the Charter, would enhance the effectiveness of that organ's decisions.

The annual report of the Security Council must cease to be a mere formality. It is clearly out of step with the new circumstances surrounding matters relating to international peace and security. The full potential of paragraph 3 of Article 24 and paragraph 1 of Article 15 of the Charter must be given a chance to develop. Members have entrusted the Security Council with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. This in turn implies the accountability of the Council to the Assembly.

We sincerely hope that in the near future we will be able to engage in an exercise of renewed dialogue and communication between the Security Council and the General Assembly. This will undoubtedly require a report containing substantive elements and analysis of the decisions and activities of the Council. The maintenance of international peace and security, after all, is a purpose common to all States Members of the Organization.

Mrs. Fréchette (Canada): As we approach the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations this year's report of the Security Council underscores to all of us, if such a reminder is necessary, the tremendous challenges faced by the international community in efforts to maintain peace and security. The wide-ranging number of conflicts the Security Council currently deals with demonstrates that after 49 years we remain far from achieving global peace, one of the Organization's central objectives. However, while there are problems, the Council's experience over the last year also shows that only a concerted and determined effort on the part of the international community can solve them.

The Council's record also reaffirms that the nature of many of the conflicts we are now confronted with has changed. In the post-cold-war period essentially intra-State conflicts, with numerous and complex origins, dominate the Council's deliberations. In the face of this emerging dynamic, Canada answers "Yes" to those who ask whether the United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, should be involved in resolving them. The international community cannot stand aside as conflicts which imperil the lives of millions of innocent people and threaten their most fundamental rights, fester, degenerate and eventually explode.

Just as it is clear that the challenges facing the international community are both changing and daunting, it is also evident that the Security Council is no Merlin, who in one stroke can bring them to a peaceful outcome. That is expecting too much. The Council's record over the past year represents a transition. From a period of euphoria, when belief in the Council's abilities to prevail remained high, Council members, indeed all of us, are today keenly aware of the limitations of its influence.

This realization notwithstanding, the Council should avoid retreat. Far from diminishing, the need for firm, decisive and united action remains essential. The Security Council has a unique role to play in the preservation of international peace and security. In responding to new challenges, the Council is on the right track and moving forward, even though the steps it has taken have not always proved capable of solving all the problems.

As a major contributor to peace-keeping operations with close to 2,800 soldiers and police officers serving in eight missions, Canada is deeply interested in and often directly affected by the Council's decisions. Looking back at the Council's record over the past year we wish to offer a few observations which we hope the Council will take into account in its future deliberations.

In developing mandates for peace-keeping operations, or modifying them in mid-course, the Council should aim to spell out objectives and priorities as clearly as possible. This is essential for those who are left to implement them. Where there are multiple components to a mandate, prioritization is necessary to increase clarity.

This year in Somalia, the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) was operating under sometimes conflicting direction from the Council. The less mandates are open to ambiguity, the better the chances costly mistakes can be avoided and overall goals achieved.

It is equally important for the Security Council to resist incrementalism in revising tasks for peace-keeping operations. Adding responsibilities to operations to deal with new challenges without clearly refocusing the objectives of a mission or providing it with adequate additional resources to handle new tasks, muddies the water and makes it difficult for those on the ground to carry out their jobs effectively.

At the same time, the Security Council needs to avoid sending mixed signals about what operations can or are meant to achieve. Doing so can lead to false expectations and damage the credibility of an operation.

The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina illustrates both problems. Canada was and is in the forefront of those contributing to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). That Force continues to be a vital requirement of life for over a million Bosnians. However, the Council's decision to give additional tasks to UNPROFOR, and ambiguous messages about its mission, have led many to confuse this operation with a force both equipped and mandated to impose peace upon warring parties. It is neither, but the Security Council's actions have at times contributed to this misperception.

The Security Council is most effective when its actions are guided by clear and agreed goals, purposefully and resolutely pursued, and involve measured actions. The Council's management of the Haitian crisis is an outstanding example. Throughout the crisis, the Council did not waver in its unity of purpose — the restoration to office of President Aristide. With this objective, the Council's response to the continued intransigence of the de facto regime was consistent and graduated. Only when one action proved inadequate did the Council move to the next, more serious stage, culminating in the authorization of a multinational coalition under the auspices of the United Nations to carry out the Council's objectives. The result achieved in Haiti demonstrates how common objectives matched with determined and measured action can translate into success for the Council.

(spoke in French)

Consultations with troop contributors are an essential factor in ensuring the success of a peace-keeping operation. We welcome the presidential statement of 3 May 1994 (S/PRST/1994/22), in which the Council recognized the need to consult the troop-contributing countries when a change or extension in an operation's mandate is in prospect. The meetings currently chaired by the Secretariat, to which Council members are invited, are useful and welcome. However, in their present configuration, they do not entirely meet the need for the Council to consult with troop contributors. As we have already said in the debate in the reform of the Security Council, we hope that the Council will follow up on its 3 May 1994 statement by fully committing itself to engaging in a substantive and direct dialogue with troop contributors when renewing or modifying mandates. This can be done without in any way challenging the Council's final responsibility for deciding on the nature of a peace-keeping mandate.

Finally, there has been much comment on the Council's inability to respond effectively to conflicts that rapidly worsen. It is not that the Council does not have a sense of what should be done; rather, the problem is the absence of a rapid-intervention capability. We hope that the anticipated Council summit next January will be an occasion to give further consideration to rapid-response mechanisms.

The Security Council needs to remain fully engaged in dealing with new circumstances and addressing new challenges. The last 12 months have made it clear that the Council is still seeking the most appropriate ways of doing so. Through constructive observations and suggestions, we can all help to ensure that the Council is equipped to carry out its responsibilities. We are convinced that its members will heed the lessons both of this year's setbacks and of its successes.

Mr. Lamamra (Algeria) *(interpretation from French):* First of all, I should like to thank the President of the Security Council, Sir David Hannay, for introducing the Council's report, which covers the period from 16 June 1993 to 15 June 1994. This is a continuation of the welcome practice which was so appropriately inaugurated last year by the Permanent

Representative of Brazil, Mr. Sardenberg, then President of the Council. It is to be hoped that this practice will be sustained by a new spirit of cooperation between the General Assembly and the Security Council and will have a profound impact on the actual content of future reports.

The Algerian delegation also welcomes the fact that the Council's report, for the second consecutive year, was adopted in a public meeting of the Council. We are pleased, too, that the monthly programme of Council activities continues to be disseminated, and that the United Nations *Journal* announces the agendas for public meetings. We can also note with satisfaction that this year's report contains a more detailed introduction and two new appendices containing, respectively, a list of communications from the President of the Council and the Secretary-General and a list of the reports of the Secretary-General issued during the period covered by the report. However, these innovations, which we welcome, should not conceal the essential point at issue, which continues to be how to improve the information given to States that are not members of the Council — an objective on which, unfortunately, there has not been any particularly positive development in the past year. We cannot refrain from expressing the fear that there has been something of a retreat from the relative openness of last year, since it can easily be seen when we read the Security Council's report for this year that the hopes and the comments made a year ago on this matter are as urgent and relevant today as they were then. They have not yet been sufficiently taken into account, with respect either to the form and the content of the report, or to transparency in the Security Council's work, or to relations between the General Assembly and the Council. I therefore do not need to repeat here observations that have been supported by an ever-growing wave of opinion within the United Nations.

The interest displayed by the States members of the General Assembly in the Security Council's report is not only legitimate but indeed legal, because it stems from the actual provisions of the Charter. It is true that the Security Council bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. But it is equally true that this is the result of a kind of delegation of authority on a contractual basis, which was granted to the Council so that the Organization's action in this area could be both prompt and effective, and on condition that, in exercising this responsibility, the Council acted on behalf of all the Members of the Organization. Quite clearly, we see the existence here of a dynamic link between the General Assembly and the Security Council, a link intended by the founders of the Organization to ensure that these two principal organs would have relations of cooperation based on complementarity and mutual respect for each other's prerogatives. It was naturally also understood that general coordination would be undertaken by the single plenary organ which is the very centre of the institutional edifice of the Organization — that is, the General Assembly, on which, in addition, Article 10 of the Charter confers the right to discuss

> "any questions or any matters...relating to the powers and functions of any organs provided for in the present Charter"

and to

> "make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters."

In fact, the mechanism of annual and special reports provided for by the Charter as one of the umbilical links between the Security Council and the General Assembly is a clear, if incomplete and imperfect, expression of the need for the deliberative organ, which represents the collective will of the Member States, to monitor the Council's actions, since the participants in the San Francisco Conference noted that the soul of any democracy is control. If one needs convincing, all one need do is refer to the documents of the founding Conference to find that a great deal of thought was given to the institutional life of the United Nations with the aim of forearming it against certain dysfunctions which practice has, unfortunately, brought to light in abundance.

Thus, Belgium urged in San Francisco that lessons be learned from the failure of the League of Nations, stressing that the most representative organ of the Organization, the General Assembly, must have sovereign competence to interpret the Charter. Venezuela, invoking the future Article 24 of the Charter, expressed the belief that such delegation of powers as the Article provided for could be accepted if the General Assembly was given the necessary oversight powers and if the Member States were able to have recourse to them.

This demand for control is gaining in force and relevance now that the disturbances caused by the cold war in the normal functioning of United Nations bodies has stopped and it has been established that general support for the Security Council's actions is the basis of their legitimacy and strengthens their effectiveness.

This means that the structure and content of the Security Council's annual report to the General Assembly must be improved and that the introduction of special reports should be seriously considered. It also offers the opportunity to reaffirm resolution 48/264, adopted by consensus on 29 July, which, *inter alia*, encourages the Security Council to:

> "provide in a timely manner a clear and informative account of its work, including its resolutions and other decisions, including its resolutions and other decisions, inclusive of measures taken under Chapter VII of the Charter". (resolution *48/264, para. 3*)

Lastly, it implies that the Security Council's work, which embodies the hopes and frustrations of a great many States and a large sector of public opinion, would benefit from greater concertation and explicitness, particularly in the context of this debate, which should be the highpoint in efforts to affirm the collective responsibility of States Members of the United Nations for maintaining international peace and security.

From this viewpoint, my delegation supports the proposal made by the Chairman and other members of the Non-Aligned Movement during this debate that this agenda item remain open, allowing the consultations recommended by resolution 48/264 to take place.

Mr. Graf zu Rantzau (Germany): We appreciate the presentation of the report of the Security Council to the General Assembly. The report is very extensive and its compilation was extremely work-intensive, reflecting the vast agenda the Security Council had to deal with during the past 12 months, without, however, providing us with much insight into and analysis of, the Council's deliberations.

In his report of 2 September 1994 on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General pointed out that until last year consideration of the report of the Security Council in the General Assembly attracted only limited attention, while at the forty-eighth session numerous delegations made statements on it. This year, too, many delegations are commenting. We see two reasons for this growing interest: the enhanced activities of the Security Council and the ongoing discussion on Security Council reform.

We have stated repeatedly, and we say it again today: the Security Council's effectiveness is based on its credibility, and its credibility depends largely on both the representative character of the Council and whether United Nations Member States feel that it acts on their behalf, as demanded by Article 24 of the Charter. It is therefore essential that there be a free flow of information between Council members and the general membership. In the past — and we can attest to this from our own experience — the general membership has often felt locked out of and excluded from the Council's deliberations and decision-making.

In our view, two fundamental issues must be addressed to improve this situation. First, non-members of the Security Council must have sufficient access to information about the Council's work. "Sufficient", in this context, means a degree of information which satisfies the needs of individual Member States. It is natural that, depending on the item under discussion, Member States will have varying degrees of interest. Geographic nearness to a conflict, historic or economic ties, or the fact that troops were contributed to a specific peace-keeping operation, are factors which will most likely increase a Member State's need to know in detail and without delay what is being discussed and decided. Secondly, non-members of the Security Council should have the opportunity to contribute their views and information, whenever appropriate, to the Security Council's deliberations.

Throughout our debate about the question of equitable representation on and increase in the membership of the Security Council, as well as in the discussions of the Working Group for the revitalization of the work of the General Assembly, various ideas have been put forward as to how these objectives could best be achieved. In the meantime, certain steps have been taken by the Security Council to improve the situation. My delegation, for instance, highly appreciates the publication of the agenda of informal meetings in the United Nations *Journal* and the briefings on informal Security Council meetings established last week by the Council's presidency on a trial basis. Another example in this regard is the attempt to react to demands for improving the Security Council's report to the General Assembly. As President of the Security Council, Ambassador Sardenberg of Brazil introduced the report personally at the forty-eighth session, as did the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom today. Furthermore, attempts have been made to obtain more regular and substantive input into the Council's work, in particular from troop-contributing countries. My delegation welcomes these initiatives.

However, more steps still need to be taken. A majority of Member States seem to agree that a certain number of closed informal meetings are necessary for the Council's efficient and effective functioning. At the same time, we agree with the representative of France, who, during the debate on agenda item 33 two weeks ago, expressed support for an enhanced dialogue between the Security Council and the general membership in formal meetings. For the remaining informal meetings, it should be assured that non-members of the Council can follow the events. Furthermore, it is often difficult, particularly for small Member States with limited resources, to be present when the Security Council calls an ad hoc meeting. A mechanism should be established to notify all Member States about meetings called at short notice.

Consultations with troop-contributing countries are crucial for the effectiveness of the Security Council's work. Decisions cannot be implemented and peace-keeping operations cannot be carried out if those who do the on-site work feel that they lack information or cannot make their voice heard. Germany therefore clearly supports proposals to establish a mechanism for coordination between the Security Council and troop-contributing countries. Argentina and New Zealand, encouraged by Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Uruguay, have made a useful proposal. We appreciate that in its deliberations this morning the Security Council has discussed this proposal and that there appears to be widespread support for it.

With regard to transparency and openness, the Security Council has introduced improvements. The ills have been identified and some promising remedies have been administered, but we are still somewhat short of a cure. A large number of Member States have expressed the view — which is fully supported by my delegation — that an expansion of the Security Council can be only one aspect of our attempt to improve the Council's credibility and thus its effectiveness. Increasing its transparency, facilitating the flow of information between the Council and non-members of the Council and therefore reassuring the general membership that its views are adequately represented by the Security Council are of equal importance.

My Government is confident that agreement can be found on the necessary further steps to improve the Security Council's transparency as part of an overall package that will mark the end of our discussion about how to make the principal organ of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace and security compatible with both an increased membership and changed world realities.

Agenda item 8 (*continued*)

Adoption of the agenda and organization of work: reports of the General Committee

Third report of the General Committee (A/49/250/Add.2)

The President (*interpretation from French*): The third report of the General Committee concerns two requests for the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of additional sub-items submitted by the delegations of Rwanda and Zaire.

I first draw the attention of representatives to paragraph 1 (a) of the report.

The General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of an additional sub-item under item 37 — "Strengthening of the coordination of humanitarian and disaster relief assistance of the United Nations, including special economic assistance" — entitled "Emergency international assistance for a solution to the problem of refugees, the restoration of total peace, reconstruction and socio-economic development in war-stricken Rwanda".

May I take it that the General Assembly decides to include this additional sub-item in its agenda?

It was so decided.

The President (*interpretation from French*): In paragraph 1 (b) of the report, the General Committee recommends that the sub-item be considered directly in plenary meeting.

May I take it that the General Assembly adopts this recommendation of the General Committee?

It was so decided.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform members that this sub-item becomes sub-item (f) of agenda item 37.

Next, I draw the attention of representatives to paragraph 2 (a) of the report.

The General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of the current session of an additional sub-item under item 37 — "Strengthening of the coordination of humanitarian and disaster relief assistance of the United Nations, including special economic assistance" — entitled "Special assistance to countries receiving refugees from Rwanda".

May I take it that the General Assembly decides to include this additional sub-item in its agenda?

It was so decided.

The President (*interpretation from French*): In paragraph 2 (b) of the report, the General Committee recommends that the sub-item be considered directly in plenary meeting.

May I take it that the General Assembly adopts this recommendation of the General Committee?

It was so decided.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform members that this sub-item becomes sub-item (g) of agenda item 37.

The General Assembly will consider agenda item 37 as a whole on Wednesday, 23 November.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.